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The Shape of Things

A NEW IMPASSE HAS BEEN REACHED IN THE negotiations between the French Committee of National Liberation and the Anglo-American authorities as a result of the communications restrictions imposed by the British last month. Only the United States, Russia, and the Dominions were exempted from these measures, and the fact that countries with a vital stake in the invasion were lumped in with the neutrals caused a good deal of heart-burning. The governments of Belgium, Holland, and Norway were at least in London and in direct touch with the High Command. But for the French Committee, with its headquarters in Algiers, the impossibility of any private communication with its representatives in London was a severe handicap. It was all the more so since those representatives, General Koenig and Pierre Vienot, were engaged in delicate negotiations with General Eisenhower covering the relations between the French authorities and the liberating armies. Now, as a result of this communications trouble, the French Committee has decided to suspend the discussions. Maybe in view of the urgent necessity of perfecting liaison arrangements, the Committee is being unduly touchy about a supposed affront to its sovereignty. But this sensitivity is a direct and inevitable result of our grudging and still incomplete recognition of its authority.

*

LAST WEEK'S PRIMARY RETURNS BROUGHT new encouragement to progressives throughout the country. In the deep South, supposedly a hotbed of anti-New Deal sentiment, two of the President's staunchest and ablest supporters, Senators Claude Pepper of Florida and Lister Hill of Alabama, scored surprisingly easy triumphs. Their victories were all the more notable because both had been violently attacked on the issue of white supremacy. In rock-ribbed Republican South Dakota Senator Gurney was renominated with a safe margin although he had been criticized for supporting the President on various issues, especially on foreign policy. And Indiana's Charles La Follette, one of the outstanding liberals in the House, was renominated on the Republican ticket by an overwhelming majority. All these results might be attributed—as the tory press is hopefully suggesting—to the natural advantage possessed by the "ins" if it were not for the fact that

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three of Alabama's most notorious reactionaries encountered unexpectedly heavy going at the polls. Representative Joseph Starnes, a leading member of the Dies committee, was defeated; the other two—Carter Manasco and John Newsome—face run-off elections. The defeat of Starnes was noteworthy as a demonstration of growing labor strength in the South. It is a bad omen for Martin Dies, particularly since labor has succeeded in achieving a 25 per cent increase in registration in the Texas Representative's district.

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HOW SERIOUSLY GENERAL MACARTHUR took the campaign to draft him for the Republican Presidential nomination we do not know. Certainly his response to the Miller letters suggested a high state of receptivity. No less certainly, the public reaction to his apparent indorsement of Representative Miller's acutely partisan political analysis was overwhelmingly unfavorable. From then on it was a case of "put up or shut up," and by declaring "I do not covet it [the nomination] nor would I accept it," the General recognized that the trial balloon launched on his behalf had been shot down in flames. His political camp followers were sadly disappointed as they realized the finality of his decision and began to wind up their affairs. But the country at large was relieved to know that henceforth General MacArthur's attention would be concentrated on the military tasks he is so well equipped to perform.

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THE GENERAL'S ABDICATION PRACTICALLY clinches Governor Dewey's nomination and leaves the iso-nationalists in a political cul-de-sac. Already the Chicago *Tribune*, finding itself altogether too well isolated, is complaining that the Middle West is being left out of the Republican Convention program. "The delegates from the heart of the nation," it declares, "should be careful that this convention is not stolen as the last one was." Gerald L. K. Smith, the Führer of Detroit, infuriated by Dewey's recent speech on foreign policy with its cautious approach to internationalism, has accused the New York Governor of "slipping into Willkie's bed"—the ultimate in immorality according to Smith's code. Mr. Smith is toying with the idea of calling a convention of his America First party for the purpose of drafting Colonel McCormick. We fear that this scheme, which would have the merit of bringing all the iso-nationalists into the open and permitting a nose count, will not mature. The Colonel's political I. Q. may not be very high, but he probably has enough acumen not to get in the way of a hungry elephant excited to frenzy by the enticing smells of office.

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THE RISING TEMPO OF ALLIED SUCCESSES IN the Pacific and Burma has led most Americans to overlook the significance of Japan's powerful offensive in China. The purpose of the offensive is clear. Since the beginning of the war the Chinese have clung to a short stretch of the main north-south railway linking Peking with Hankow and the Yangtze valley. This has meant that the Japanese forces in central China have been dependent on river communications. Now the Japanese have captured the important junction city of Chengchow and have cleared all but a forty-five-mile stretch of the railway. Capture of this stretch would greatly strengthen their position in central and southern China and enable them better to meet the expected United Nations attempt to set up air bases for the drive on Japan. The inability of the Chinese to stop the Japanese, in conjunction with indications of continued political dissension in Chungking, has aroused new anxiety here, but much of this is probably unwarranted. The Chinese have suffered far greater military reverses in the past without impairing the people's will to resist. And the recent willingness of the Chinese leaders to accept criticism from their Allies bespeaks a strengthening of the democratic elements who are pledged to carry the war to a successful conclusion.

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THE DISCOVERY OF SYNTHETIC QUININE IS a scientific event of the first magnitude, but hardly less significant are the circumstances under which two young Harvard chemists came to solve this century-old problem. Although the shortage of quinine and the shortcomings of atabrine made the need for synthetic quinine obvious, neither the government nor Harvard University undertook to organize research into the problem. Instead, the Polaroid Corporation was permitted, for an investment of a few thousand dollars, to hire Harvard brains and use Harvard laboratories, and is now the owner of the process. Despite a glowing press release by the company, it is far from clear that it will make this discovery freely available to the government or to industry. The chances are that the process will be subjected to the kind of cautious and limited commercial exploitation that is part of "business as usual" in the drug trade. The corporate affiliations of certain officials of Polaroid make it unlikely that they will move in any way that might unduly embarrass or discomfit either the natural quinine cartel or the monopoly on atabrine held by Winthrop Chemical for General Aniline and Film and Sterling Products. Yet more quinine is a war essential in the Pacific and cheaper quinine would be a blessing in other tropical and semi-tropical areas, including our own South. Why can't the government take over the patent and give us quick action in making the transition from laboratory experiment to large-scale production?

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THE AUTHORS OF "THE RACES OF MANKIND," a pamphlet which gives in simple and succinct language the findings of science on the subject of race, make the

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sensible and by now hardly sensational statement that all the peoples of the earth are a single family and have a common origin. In March Representative May, of Kentucky, persuaded the War Department not to use the pamphlet in army orientation courses because its cool scientific observations ran counter to his own warm prejudices in favor of white supremacy. Now a subcommittee of the House Military Affairs Committee, of which May is chairman, has solemnly announced, after an "investigation," that the pamphlet is filled with "techniques of Communist propaganda," presumably because it ascribes so-called racial differences to differences in environment over long periods of time and sticks to the scientific thesis that all men are brothers. In those excerpts of the report which we have seen, the committee —its chairman is also a Southerner—plays fast and loose with the text of the pamphlet, misquoting it freely and tearing sentences out of context with complete abandon. The committee even condemns the illustrations—which are both amusing and illuminating—and does not hesitate to make itself ridiculous by pointing out that "Adam and Eve are depicted with navels." The whole performance could be dismissed as comedy if it were not for the fact that the subcommittee's report is one more attempt to perpetuate the tragic fallacies of race. We hope the War Department will continue to put such reading matter as "The Races of Mankind" into the hands of servicemen.

*

THE TOTAL DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE provides few lessons for the builders of a peaceful world. For peace-building is a slow, painful, complex job, demanding the single-minded devotion of men of good will of all nations—including Germany. A group of German exiles in this country have just formed a Council for a Democratic Germany. Differing in political viewpoint and professional interest, they are united in their hatred of Nazism and their faith in democracy. Their objectives are to study practical measures needed for the post-war reconstruction of a democratic Germany, to discover the ways by which the German educational system can be purged of its fascist and Nazi teachings, and to formulate a program of action to which all democratic forces in post-war Germany can adhere. Sponsoring the Council is a group of American liberals including John Dewey, Henry Seidel Canby, William Allen Nielsen, Lewis Gannett, Paul Kellogg, Reinhold Niebuhr, Bishop Henry Hobson, Emil Rieve, Dorothy Thompson, Dean Christian Gauss. We agree with the American group that "neither a soft peace nor a hard peace, neither sentimentality nor vindictiveness will create the conditions of an abiding peace." The responsibility is on those who lead in the reconstruction of Germany's political and economic life and on those who build the larger international order in which the new Germany will have a place.

GERMAN DEMOCRATS MUST FACE THE FACT that the German people as a whole cannot and will not be absolved from all responsibility for Nazism. This was clearly hammered home in the course of the deliberations of an ILO sub-committee which was considering a resolution dealing with the economic rehabilitation of Germany, including the restoration of the free trade unions. By a 9 to 2 vote this resolution was referred back to the Governing Body after a debate colored by the righteous bitterness of the Europeans who have suffered directly from German aggression. One reason for the opposition that developed was the inadvisability of attempting to decide questions related to the peace terms in the absence of Russia. But the emotions aroused during the discussion were related to the strong reaction of the European delegates, including labor representatives, against a proposal which seemed to draw a line between Hitler and the German people. We agree with Robert J. Watt, A. F. of L. representative who was one of the minority, that it is dangerous to treat the German as innately and uniquely brutal. And we support his plea for the rebuilding of the German trade unions. Whatever just punishment may be inflicted on Germany, the re-creation of democratic institutions is an essential first step toward its reclamation.

Mail-Order "Martyr"

THE campaign of the free enterprisers is taking on an increasingly evangelistic tinge. Its apostles dazzle us with glimpses of a future heaven which we shall all enjoy if and when the angels of business overcome the dark forces of collectivism, and scare us with lurid forecasts of the economic hell into which we will be plunged if we do not heed the gospel according to St. Ford. But for all the fervor of the preachers, their revival campaign has wilted from lack of drama. While they talk in terms of persecution and picture private enterprise skulking in the catacombs, they have been unable to exhibit any victims of the White House Nero. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church," and what the religion of private enterprise needs is a good millionaire martyr. In the person of Sewell Avery, chairman of Montgomery Ward, a volunteer for the role has now come forward, and a tremendous campaign is being put on by the press and the Congressional reactionaries to persuade the public that he is the genuine article.

The long history of Mr. Avery's defiance of the government was recapitulated in *The Nation* of April 29. A year ago, having exhausted every delaying device available, he reluctantly signed a contract with Local 20 of the Mail Order, Warehouse, and Retail Employees' Union (C. I. O.), in compliance with a direct order

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from the President. As soon as the contract expired, he started the fight all over again. The War Labor Board, whose authority he challenged, handled him gently, acceding to his demands for a new union election to determine whether the union still represented a majority of his employees, and merely ordering him to maintain the status quo until the balloting was completed.

Mr. Avery refused to comply. Clearly he was trailing his coat, intent on putting the Administration in a position where it had either to crack down on him or nullify its whole war labor policy. When he flatly refused to obey a White House order upholding the WLB's ruling, the President instructed Secretary of Commerce Jesse Jones to take over the Montgomery Ward Chicago plant. The would-be martyr challenged the legality of this ruling. When the government sent in a small body of troops to occupy the plant, he staged a sitdown strike, declaring he would order his employees to give no cooperation to the government's representatives.

At this point Attorney General Biddle ordered his bodily removal, and the storm broke. From one end of the country to the other the anti-Administration press relegated the war to a secondary place and proceeded to pillory the President as a dictator who had destroyed the Constitution and torn up the Bill of Rights. Mr. Biddle was assailed as a veritable Himmler, heading a savage Gestapo bent on extirpating every business man who would not kowtow to his infamous master. Never in the course of history has so much newsprint been wasted on so poor a cause. Fortunately the very excess of the indignation, so out of proportion to the actual event, reduced it to absurdity. The supposed victim of this outrage, it turned out, had not been shot without trial, beaten up, or thrown into a concentration camp. As the pictures showed, he had merely been carried out of the Ward building, comfortably relaxed in the arms of two soldiers, and deposited gently on the sidewalk. He then entered his big limousine and was driven to his home, where he has been having the time of his life trying on his cheaply gained halo. Is it not a little indecent to compare the "sufferings" of this phony martyr with the real torments experienced by the victims of the real Gestapo?

The question of whether or not the President has exceeded the very wide powers granted to him by Congress is now before the federal District Court in Chicago, and its decision will not be rendered until after we have gone to press. In the newspapers as a whole the issue has, of course, been prejudged. If the President's action is upheld, we are told, no corner grocery will be safe from seizure. This, of course, is nonsense. The scale on which Montgomery Ward operates—it did half a billion dollars' worth of business last year—and its key position as a distributor of farm supplies link it directly to the war economy. It has received large contracts from the government; it has been granted thousands of priorities on the plea of war necessity.

An even more important consideration, however, is the effect that successful defiance of the WLB by Montgomery Ward would have on the whole machinery instituted by the government to prevent war-time labor disputes. A precedent would be created that we can be sure other corporations would seize upon. Mr. Avery himself has proved his readiness to challenge the authority of the WLB in instances where war production is directly involved. The Hummer Manufacturing Company, a division of Ward's engaged in arms contracts, has refused to comply with a WLB order entered last August and a strike has now started. United States Gypsum, of which Avery is chairman, has defied the board since June, 1943, following exactly the same tactics as Ward's.

If corporations are to be allowed to contract out of the war economy—at least as far as their labor relations are concerned—then the affected unions must be released from their no-strike pledges. But as Chairman Davis of the WLB has pointed out, that would lead to a situation in which the "whole structure of war-time industrial relations would crumble." Either the WLB's authority must be respected consistently or it will become as helpless to prevent labor troubles as the Kellogg Pact was to prevent war.

A Mess of Wolfram

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

LET us gladly admit that our government won a modest success in its recent deal with Franco. To try to rob it of its little triumph would be unchivalrous. If one's country is going to sell its birthright of democratic principle for a mess of pottage, one should at least rejoice that it got the pottage.

As a result of the agreement made with fascist Spain, Hitler will have less tungsten with which to harden steel for munitions. The rest of the deal is no more than seasoning. The German consulate in Tangier will be closed and certain "designated" Nazi agents will be kicked out. But since Tangier is full of undesignated Nazi agents and since Franco's own boys have proved quite as useful to Hitler as pure Nordic Nazis could be, and since Spain itself is one great beehive of espionage, with the German embassy and consular offices running wide open, the prospect of serious interference with Nazi activities is not great. As for the Blue Legion, its official career was ended long before the agreement to end it was signed. Whether Spanish fascists are still fighting on the eastern front is a matter of dispute. Neither this nor any other agreement could prevent "voluntary" enlistments in the German army. The ship deal, too, had been concluded

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some time ago except for a few details which were finally settled on Franco's terms.

What is important is a matter of some hundreds of tons of wolfram, from which tungsten is extracted. That is the heart of the agreement, the solid substance in the pot. But for this, the years spent in buttering up a hostile fascist regime would have yielded nothing but empty humiliation. We should make the most of those tons of potential alloy.

But even in this generous mood one must be realistic about the size of the victory, what it cost, and by what means it was actually won. The New York *Times,* in an editorial that should become a textbook example of complacent self-delusion, has described the achievement of Ambassador Hayes as a "great service to his country and the Allied cause," and the agreement as a "signal victory for Allied diplomacy." Let's consider these resounding claims.

The agreement itself was admittedly an unwelcome compromise. In announcing its terms the State Department explained that the American aim of depriving Germany of all wolfram shipments had been abandoned "on the urgent request of the British government." How much does Germany actually lose? The *Times* in another editorial said that Spain would now reduce deliveries of tungsten ore "to about 10 per cent of what the Germans would have obtained under their previous agreement." Perhaps this is so, but on the figures the *Times* quotes I cannot make it come out that way. Germany, according to the *Times,* has purchased 1,300 tons of Spanish wolfram for 1944 deliveries, but it can now "get 280 tons, at the most, for the rest of this year." But 280 is 21 per cent, not 10 per cent, of 1,300, and even that is not the real story. Germany imported 300 or more tons of wolfram from Spain in January, 1944; it is to get 20 tons a month to May and June; and thereafter it is to get 40 tons a month for the remainder of 1944. A bit of simple addition makes it clear that Germany's full quota for 1944 will be 580 tons, which is 45 per cent, rather than 10 per cent, of 1,300 tons. Perhaps the 300 tons shipped in January were not supposed to count because they were contracted for in 1943, but since they form a substantial part of Hitler's 1944 supply they ought to be allowed to break into the statistics somewhere. Just what the 10 per cent is supposed to represent I do not know; it may be the estimated proportion Hitler will receive of what he might have bought in 1944, rather than the actual proportion of what he had in fact contracted for. But such a comparison is so vague as to be misleading.

At the risk of sounding school-teacherish I should like to inject one additional comparison that seems to me more revealing than all the rest. Last year Hitler received 800 tons of wolfram from Spain out of a total of 1,100 ordered. This year, invasion permitting, Hitler will get 580 tons. So the actual drop in 1944, as the result of the new agreement, will be 220 tons, and the proportion of last year's wolfram which Hitler will receive in 1944 will be 72 per cent.

The next question is how this "signal victory" was won. The *Times* tells us that while the "balance" of the war undoubtedly had its effect, the chief credit must go to the policy of the American government. That policy, comprising a "combination of diplomatic and economic pressure, has finally induced the Spaniards to do practically everything the Allies desired." Here, again, I'm afraid a realistic observer must question the *Times* interpretation. The truth seems exactly the reverse. American policy accomplished exactly nothing as long as Hitler's chances of victory seemed fairly good. Only when it became evident that the Axis faced defeat, and when diplomatic and economic pressure began to be substituted for soft soap, did Franco show any willingness to bargain. Even then, as events have shown, he felt strong enough to force many of his own terms on the two great powers. His strength lay not in his actual position, which today is all but hopeless. It lay in the proved weakness of Allied diplomacy, its unwillingness to risk a showdown. To translate the final result into a brilliant diplomatic victory takes imagination if not political perspicacity.

As to the price of victory, it is beyond computing. We have paid for that ore in good American crude oil, some of which will probably find its way into Germany along with the reduced quotas of wolfram. But little as we can afford to squander oil on unfriendly fascist states, we can afford still less the other costs involved. By giving approval and diplomatic support to Franco we have in effect subsidized the whole international fascist conspiracy against which we were finally driven to wage war. The Spanish regime has carried Hitler's propaganda into every corner of Latin America. Clerical reaction, contempt for democracy, hatred of the United States—all these are spread wherever Franco's agents operate.

The job of American diplomacy in Spain was not to drive a bargain with a neutral; it was to disarm an enemy. Just before the agreement with Franco was announced, our colleague, J. Alvarez del Vayo, Foreign Minister in the last Republican government of Spain, gave a statement to the United Press. I want to quote here a part of his comment because it defines very sharply the price the Allies have paid for the policy that culminated in Mr. Hayes's diplomatic triumph. Said Mr. del Vayo:

> To focus the whole diplomatic battle on the question of obtaining a reduction of Spanish wolfram shipments to Germany is to minimize the real problem of Spain's role in the war. . . . The problem is to render ineffective the help that the Franco regime can, and will, give to Hitler at the moment of the European invasion. Otherwise, as a result of the policy pursued with regard to

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Franco, invasion day will find an enemy state at the back of the Allied army. Today Spain is the center of espionage, sabotage, and political agitation in Hitler's behalf, and the proposed agreement will not advance the Allied cause a single inch. The crux of the problem is therefore to oust Franco and his Falange from the government of Spain and to help the Spanish people regain their freedom. Until that is done, Spain will continue to be an accomplice in the German war against the Allies.

Digesting the State Department

BY RICHARD ALLAN

Washington, May 2

"SPOTLIGHT on the State Department" by Kingsbury Smith, in the May *Reader's Digest,* is the *Digest's* latest and grandest attempt to court the lads of Mr. Hull's great gray palace on Pennsylvania Avenue. As late as last December relations between the *Digest* and the department were hit-or-miss. The *Digest* played up prominently a story by Senator Hugh Butler of Nebraska attacking the Good Neighbor policy in terms of dollars and cents. The department was pretty much miffed.

The *Digest,* a few days before deadline for its next issue, offered Nelson Rockefeller, Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, some space to answer Mr. Butler's charges. No, the department told Mr. Rockefeller, we would prefer that you keep quiet. The department felt, as it does in such cases, that to answer a criticism is to dignify the critic; and anyway, its own experts already had furnished Congressional leaders with speeches denying Butler's words—why share the fun with Mr. Rockefeller?

But all this inter-departmental dickering left the *Reader's Digest* in a rather unpleasant state of nerves. The magazine had angered the State Department at a time when State Department friendship could be very useful: the *Digest* was pushing half a dozen foreign-language editions into new markets all over the globe. It is surprising how often a publisher engaged on a venture of this sort must come to the State Department: there are matters of priorities, airplane space, newsprint recommendations; arrangements for setting up printing establishments in various foreign countries. So two or three pleasant young men from Pleasantville began appearing in State Department corridors more and more frequently. "We have heard that you do not like all our articles," said the pleasant young men, in effect. "We should like to keep the articles for our future foreign-language editions in line with your own ideas."

This bait was too attractive for even the austere State Department to resist. Currently it is pushing its own culture-and-propaganda program abroad on a dozen fronts, with money newly granted by Congress. Here was a chance to swing the mighty *Reader's Digest* into line as an ally. So suggestions were forthcoming. "Such-and-such an article would make the Arabs unhappy," the department would counsel the young men from Pleasantville. "And here, this article criticizing the home front, it wouldn't really be of much interest abroad, would it?"

The *Digest* editors were willing, and the department was cooperative. And just to certify the harmony process, the *Digest* now has played its show-piece—Kingsbury Smith's back-patting article in the May issue. But, amusingly, the article which was meant to please may annoy. There are signs that certain passages already have turned State Department countenances a mild pink.

In general, Mr. Smith's piece is as fine and standard a full-length portrait as the department could have ordered. It presents the following usual statements in the usual way: that our policies with regard to the Ethiopian war and the Spanish civil war, although possibly wrong, were what the American public wanted; that the State Department was no more fooled and no more scared at the time of Munich than were the American people; that the State Department knew as early as 1933 that war was coming, and shared the secret with the American public; that some of Hull's advisers made things difficult for their boss by assuming that Japan was only bluffing; that our months of holding hands with Vichy represent "one of the most successful achievements of American diplomacy" in the war; that we were correct in opposing De Gaulle; that the United States army has asked the State Department not to get tough with Franco; that the results of our Latin American policy have been "highly satisfactory."

But there were two departures from the usual type of article apologizing for the State Department. First—whether for convenience or from oversight—Mr. Smith

I. F. Stone, our Washington editor, has been absent from these columns for two weeks. He has been preparing a detailed study of Governor Thomas E. Dewey, which will appear shortly in The Nation.

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omits mention of Italy, the Italian king, and Badoglio. Second, in his climactic paragraph Mr. Smith simultaneously pats Secretary Hull on the back so vigorously and shakes so stern a finger at Stalin that one cannot suppress an anticipatory chuckle. Especially at present there is nothing high department officials would dislike to do more than further to annoy or jar Russia. Imagine their feelings, then, when they find their ace defender blandly informing his readers that Mr. Hull went to Moscow and won over Stalin from "world revolution against capitalism" to "cooperation."

Mr. Smith's exuberance, of course, will well serve the cautiously anti-Soviet sentiments of the *Digest*. But as for the department, which Mr. Smith also meant to serve, the remark—especially if the Russian embassy takes out its shears and does a little clipping—may well prove to be what diplomatic folk call *contra producente*, or, in common language, a boomerang.

The little mental acrobatics common to all apologists are a frequent practice with Mr. Smith. When he arrives at a discussion of Latin America, he pretends that the much-refuted Senator Butler is the chief critic of this nation's policy in that area. Mr. Butler, as was suggested above, had his words about "too much spending" thrown back at him by the department and by leaders in both major parties months ago. But by setting up this straw man and knocking him down just one more time, Mr. Smith manages to omit mention of the really basic criticism of our Latin American policy—that it has supported dictatorships instead of our real good neighbors, the Latin American peoples.

Like so many apologists, awed by the immensity of their task, Mr. Smith, when he is not sure of the effect of a first argument, hopefully tosses in a second, thereby damning both. Thus after spending most of a *Digest* page on a high moral level, defending the principle behind our early coldness toward De Gaulle, he winds up, rather lamely, by saying, anyway we weren't the only ones, the British used to feel the same way. This, of course, is the "misery-loves-company" technique, substituted at the last lap for the "we-pursue-a-virtuous-course" approach.

Except for the few departures sketched above, Smith's article is just such an "ignominiously feeble essay in apologetics" as the earlier piece by George Creel in *Collier's* which I. F. Stone discussed in *The Nation* for April 1. However, the appearance of two such articles within a short period gives rise to a gleam of hope. The very fact that the State Department feels called upon to defend itself before mass audiences indicates that dissatisfaction with its record is not confined to a handful of radicals. Taken in conjunction with Mr. Hull's latest speeches, these journalistic counter-attacks are evidence that the critics have not only got under the department's skin but have begun to penetrate its skull.

50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

AFTER A BRIEF EXPERIENCE of the fact that the industry of man and the natural resources of the country can produce prosperity and happiness independently of the all-wise fiats of a McKinley or a Harrison, it will be possible to discuss questions of taxation and settle its details like rational beings, and not like frightened savages cutting themselves with flints before an ugly idol.—*May 3, 1894.*

THE *WORLD* IS DOING almost the most valuable work that any newspaper can now do for this city in publishing biographies of leading Tammany men. . . . Nothing is so necessary for the city at this crisis as Tammany biographies. Nothing does the gang fear so much, for most of them sprang into public life from the gutter or the jail.—*May 3, 1894.*

THE DEATH OF MR. JOHN JAY removes a prominent survivor of the grand generation which carried the slavery conflict to its final triumph. There was every temptation in life to a young man in 1836, gifted as he was with fortune, good connections, illustrious ancestry, and honorable ambition, to eschew the anti-slavery cause on leaving college. Its adherents were then not only despised as fanatics by the great business and professional world but were hated as the enemies of religion and order and the Union.—*May 10, 1894.*

THE CENTURY COMPANY are about to issue . . . the "Jungle Book," stories of animal life by Rudyard Kipling, gathered together from *St. Nicholas* and other sources.—*May 17, 1894.*

THE PROPOSITION TO AMEND the Constitution so that United States Senators may be elected by popular vote has been brought forward again in this Congress, but there does not seem much prospect of its passage, to say nothing of the remoter chances of its ratification by the necessary number of states.—*May 24, 1894.*

TO DO SOMETHING NEW seems to have been the principal aim of the publishers of *The Yellow Book: An Illustrated Quarterly*. . . . It is bound in boards of a hideous yellow color, with a design, only more hideous than frivolous, in violent black. . . The matter is, much of it, very modern and very impressionistic, the Whistlerian affectations of Mr. Max Beerbohm's "Defence of Cosmetics" being particularly intolerable. The names of Henry James, George Saintsbury, and Edmund Gosse among the writers, and that of Sir Frederick Leighton among the artists, give, however, a somewhat higher tone to the table of contents. —*May 24, 1894.*

BOOKS OF THE MONTH, May, 1894: Chanute, O., "Progress in Flying Machines," . . . Ellis, Havelock, "Man and Woman: A Study of Human Secondary Sexual Characters," . . . Yeats, W. B., "The Land of Heart's Desire," . . . Howells, W. D., "A Likely Story: A Farce," . . . Howells, W. D., "A Traveller from Altruria."

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Mexico Left and Right

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

[Mr. del Vayo has just returned from a month's visit in Mexico, where he talked with President Camacho, General Cárdenas, and other high officials, and with labor leaders, educators, and journalists. This article is the first of a series which he is writing on Mexican problems—political, social, and economic. He will also, in later issues, tell of his conversations with prominent Spanish Republican exiles whom he met in Mexico.]

TO UNDERSTAND the current situation in Mexico, we must look back to the period when General Lázaro Cárdenas held the reins of government. His presidency marked the climax of the Mexican Revolution. On the whole the revolution has always been in strong hands, as is proved by the fact that from 1917, when the constitutional regime was established, to today, that is, for twenty-seven years, Mexico has had only nine presidents, an extremely small number for any Hispanic American country. But in each administration one could trace, as with a barograph, the rise and fall of the popularity of the government. The first half of the period always shows a sharp rise; the second half a no less obvious decline. The only presidential term that shows no drop is that of Cárdenas, who left office stronger and more popular than on the day he was elected.

That could happen only as the result of an extraordinary record of accomplishment. Few Americans fully realized what was taking place in Mexico between 1934 and 1940. Their vision was obscured not only by the propaganda of the large oil companies, which did their best to distort the facts, but by the reports of observers, even of some on the left, who were incapable of viewing events in their historical perspective. It was the same sort of thing that happened in Spain. More than one well-meaning liberal went to Spain to witness the civil war and left without having grasped its real import. They were more concerned with the behavior of certain political groups or with isolated mistakes of the government than with the tremendous implications of that great struggle. So it was with Mexico. The Cárdenas presidency was not always appreciated abroad in all its grandeur and significance.

Within Mexico that was not the case. Mexico knew at the time and knows today what the presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas meant in the evolution of the country. The people saw land distributed among the peasants with a determination and energy never known before. They saw how General Calles's plans for building new roads and new systems of irrigation were carried out more vigorously than ever; how the oil companies were expropriated without regard to gloomy predictions that the country would be unable to resist economic reprisal from abroad. Mexico had seen the President traveling to the remotest corners of the country, visiting the most humble villages, instilling in the whole population a new revolutionary fervor. And Mexico had seen him fighting in the international field for the same principles that inspired his national policy. General Cárdenas from the very first day sided with Republican Spain. He was against the Munich pact, in favor of a policy that would halt the aggressors; and he made Mexico a warm shelter for the victims of fascism.

It was to be expected that so vigorous an administration would make enemies. Other Presidents had aroused the opposition of conservative native elements, or of foreign business men in Mexico, or of foreign imperialists. Cárdenas aroused the opposition of all three groups. All of them were eager to have his work destroyed.

CHOOSING A SUCCESSOR TO CARDENAS

The problem of the presidential succession therefore presented greater difficulties than at any other time in the modern history of Mexico, difficulties so great that some people thought the only solution was to forget the classic rule of "no reelection" and to put Cárdenas in office again. When I saw him in 1939, I made a discreet allusion to this proposal. His reply confirmed my impression that he was determined not to allow any departure from the constitutional tradition. The problem of choosing a successor who would follow the basic course mapped by Cárdenas without taking such an extreme position as to give the reaction a pretext for armed rebellion was approached realistically. In a speech delivered at that time before a workers' convention Lombardo Toledano declared that the question was not that of advancing the revolution; the choice was "to secure the work of Cárdenas, or to abandon it."

The man called upon to secure it was General Avila Camacho. He enjoyed solid prestige in the army. He was known as a loyal friend of Cárdenas, as well disposed toward the peasants and workers, and, particularly, as a man of equanimity and judgment, with an unusual capacity to reconcile antagonistic points of view.

The reaction went all out to defeat him. Great sums of money were spent in one of the most violent presidential campaigns the country had known. The opposition succeeded in uniting in a single front the big land-

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owners, the oil companies, the extreme Catholic groups. Thousands of churchwomen joined in a movement that had all the characteristics of an incipient putsch. But Avila Camacho was elected.

His first political problem was to restore tranquillity and to prevent the forces which had been defeated in the election from attempting to gain power through an armed rebellion. He formed his government, therefore, of men from the various groups which had been active in Mexican politics during the past thirty years. Certainly it was not a homogeneous revolutionary Cabinet. It was a Cabinet of national coalition—always a dangerous enterprise. On one hand, Camacho risked alienating those elements of the left for whom such a Cabinet, with no external crisis to justify it, seemed a retreat from the revolution. On the other hand, the right was encouraged, and tried to win the President to its side. The reactionary press took great satisfaction in presenting Mexico under Cárdenas as having been on the verge of ruin and Mexico under Avila Camacho as rising rapidly into prosperity. The sudden boom resulting from the war favored that interpretation. Every political act of the new President was praised as a healthy revision of the work of Cárdenas.

REACTION IN THE SCHOOLS

The reaction became aggressive in all directions. It tried to replace Cárdenas men everywhere with people known for their conservative tendencies. It tried to stop the distribution of land and to create an atmosphere hostile to the labor organizations. It carried on a refined sort of sabotage of everything that had been accomplished. But the place where this reactionary attempt to take over power from inside became most visible was in the Department of Education.

It was natural that this battle should have been staged there rather than in any other department. From the beginning, education had played a major role in the revolution. The advances on this front made in the previous twenty-three years had been a source of constant pride to every Mexican progressive. No one denied that mistakes had been made and that there was still much to be corrected and improved; that higher education had been neglected, and that the universities were not the kind Mexico needed. But the creation of thousands of rural schools throughout the country and the development of their social functions had established an example for the rest of Hispanic America and for the world.

Suddenly all this tremendous effort of two decades was threatened. Octavio Béjar Vázquez, the Minister of Education chosen by Avila Camacho in his desire to have all political elements represented in the government, showed himself an easy tool in the hands of the reactionaries. He took as one of his closest advisers José Vasconcelos, who was once a very good Minister of Education but who had shifted so far to the right that he had even become editor of the magazine *Timón*, financed by the German legation and finally suppressed by the Mexican government.

Teachers of progressive ideas were replaced by reactionaries. The clergy, especially the Jesuits, began to feel their power. Coeducation, which was an accepted fact in Mexico, was called an invention of the devil and suppressed. The textbooks were altered to minimize the work of the previous governments. The schools began to be looked upon not as a place where the people were being educated in the principles of the revolution, but as a place where they learned to hate it. Leagues of parents become very busy. The same women who, during the elections of 1940, came out of the churches, after service, with the cross in their hands to demonstrate in the streets against the anti-Christ Cárdenas, now prepared to win their battle through the Ministry of Education.

If the right took all these developments as a promise of victory, for the left they reinforced the fears created by the formation of the coalition Cabinet. It was at this moment that in the magazine *Cuardernos Americanos*, the best publication of its kind in Latin America, appeared a remarkable essay, called The Mexican Revolution in Crisis, which was to have a profound influence on much that has been written since. Its author, Jesús Silva Herzog, editor of *Cuardernos Americanos*, is one of the most constructive minds in the Mexican left. Former Minister to Russia, he is now fighting courageously in the Department of Finance against the inflation that threatens to overwhelm the country. In his study of the political crisis, Silva Herzog deals not only with immediate issues but with the whole problem of the revolution. He does not try to hide the difficulties which constructive efforts in Mexico have faced. Not the smallest of these difficulties was the necessity for tremendous speed. The determining cause of the revolution was the hunger for land, and when the revolution succeeded, the peasants had to be satisfied immediately. There was little time to elaborate a program. The technical aspects of the problem often had to be subordinated to the political requirements of the hour. Of course many mistakes were committed, but, as Silva Herzog put it, to wait would have been a still greater mistake.

That initial lack of organized planning has always been a drag on the revolution. Many early hopes have been shattered. The standard of life of the skilled industrial worker has risen, generally speaking, and the situation of the peasants has been greatly improved in many regions. But there is still a large section of the Mexican people which has not benefited by the reforms. These difficulties have been aggravated by the evil of corruption, with which Silva Herzog deals very frankly in his study. "The problem of Mexico," he wrote, "is before everything a problem of honesty."

It is not surprising that under such circumstances

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the left does not always know how to maintain a firm platform, while the right is able to take advantage of any failure in the social or economic field to discredit or attack the revolution. But the reaction made a serious error in underestimating the character of General Camacho and in assuming that the discouragement felt by a section of the revolutionary forces was an indication of complete capitulation. The chief maneuver of the opposition, to create a rift between Avila Camacho and Cárdenas, failed. The President remained firm; General Cárdenas, too. They blocked every attempt to play one against the other. The active elements of the left, the workers, and the peasant organizations rallied around the President. At one of the most serious moments of the crisis Lombardo Toledano declared that it was necessary to support the President without renouncing the right to criticize some of his ministers.

THE REVOLUTION SUSTAINED

At or about the same time a very interesting thing happened which proved how deeply intrenched the Mexican Revolution is, despite its weaknesses. Among the men who fought with the early revolutionary leaders—Carranza, Obregón, and Calles—against the old social order of Porfirio Díaz are some who have become extremely wealthy and now head great businesses. They are no longer part of the revolutionary process, and many believed that they no longer had any interest in it. But in a showdown even these men cannot resign themselves to a denial of the work of their youth. They have not gone forward with the revolution but neither can they go all the way back. They are not made of the stuff of genuine revolutionary leaders, but neither are they Pierre Lavals. In the crisis over the schools several of the wealthy ex-revolutionaries went to see Avila Camacho to tell him of their worries and fears. Their action was a great help to the President, who felt that he now had the support not only of the left but of what one may call the high Mexican bourgeoisie.

All these elements together—the Cárdenists, the workers' organizations, even the moderate conservatives—proved themselves stronger than the reaction. Popular opinion made itself felt. The President dismissed Béjar Vázquez as Secretary of Education and appointed in his place Jaime Torres Bodet, a liberal of clear vision and determination, who in a short time has been able to reverse the whole policy of the department. He told me of the work done in the last three months by the special committee appointed by himself to revise the school system, correcting not only the methods introduced by the reactionaries but pushing forward education as a whole. He showed me the new magazine that has been founded in order to keep rural teachers informed of improved pedagogical methods in the most progressive countries. He showed me the instructions that had been issued to reestablish coeducation and to put an end to clerical control. He had in his office plans for the creation of new schools from 1944 to 1946, for which he had succeeded in obtaining additional appropriations.

CAMACHO'S FOREIGN POLICY

The outbreak of the war gave Avila Camacho an opportunity to prove that in the domain of foreign policy he was resolved to follow the policy of Cárdenas. On the very day Pearl Harbor was attacked, without consulting any foreign government, he broke with the Axis. Immediately he appointed General Cárdenas to command the Pacific zone and later named him Minister of Defense. He declared war on the Axis when the first Mexican ship was sunk. He reestablished diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. He was one of the first to recognize the French Committee of National Liberation. His energetic Minister of the Interior, Miguel Aleman, promptly laid his hand upon the enemy fifth column, which had been actively associated with the reactionary forces. In an extended interview Aleman described the measures he had taken even before Pearl Harbor to stop the activities of the three Axis legations, particularly the German and the Japanese.

"We also had the problem of the Japanese fisheries in the Pacific," he explained to me. "But there, as in the case of the Germans, we knew who the people were who should be arrested at a given moment. We have registered all foreigners living in the country, and I think our list is very complete. It has enabled us to prevent what has happened in many other countries—the replacement by the Axis of each agent who has been caught."

"The proof of the efficiency of our war-time measures," he continued, "lies in the fact that not a single act of sabotage has been committed in Mexico, and that everything has been accomplished without affecting the individual rights of the citizens. If you ask anyone in Mexico to describe the 'state of emergency,' he will not know what to say. There is no censorship of the press, direct or indirect, no censorship of the radio, nor has the right of free assembly been limited. Foreign groups engaged in anti-fascist activities can carry on their battle here with the same freedom as before."

FASCIST CONSPIRACY

Taken as a whole, the work of the present administration cannot be interpreted as a fundamental departure from the policy of Cárdenas. In the matter of agrarian reform Camacho has continued the policy of his predecessor, and land is still being distributed according to established plans. The irrigation system is being extended, and many projects initiated under Cárdenas are now being completed. As far as the workers are concerned, there has not been a single official decision against the legitimate interests of the unions.

To pretend, however, that the reactionary forces have given up their fight would be infantile. Even if the

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war has postponed the problem of the presidential succession, the 1946 election is very much on the minds of the opposition. The reactionary groups—Sinarquistas, Unión Nacional, clericals—are joining forces and preparing for the assault. The Sinarquist danger, above all, should not be underestimated. The self-assurance with which certain government officials sometimes dismiss the movement reminds me painfully of the confident smiles with which Republican authorities in Spain, from March, 1936, until the day of the Franco uprising, listened to our warnings of the conspiracy of the right. In spite of its irresponsible and somewhat grotesque character, the Sinarquist movement is spreading throughout the country. It is winning to its side large numbers of illiterate or fanatical people in the interior of Mexico—in the rural districts more than in the cities.

But Mexico is not the only country threatened by reaction. All through Latin America the fascist forces are hatching a vast conspiracy, with the support of the Axis powers and of Franco and his Phalanx, to end democracy forever. For two years I have been insisting on this, and many articles have been published in *The Nation* by representative Latin American leaders who have not echoed the optimistic tone of official reports and speeches. The situation in Latin America is grave; no country, not even Mexico, is free from danger.

Law in the Strategy of Peace

BY P. E. CORBETT

PROMINENT among the clichés used in speeches and documents touching the objects of this war is "enduring peace and justice under law." Like other clichés, this has in it a core of truth obscured by over-familiarity. The association of law, peace, and justice expresses a wealth of human experience. For all the bitter ridicule heaped by the impatient on lawyers and their trade, none but the anarchist can imagine either security or welfare save in a community organized and ruled by law. To most of us "the law" means a vaguely sensed presence of rules, procedures, and institutions by which order is maintained and men given more or less their due. Yet we all expect two main characteristics in the legal system—fair but firm authority and adaptability to changing social needs.

At times like the present it becomes painfully obvious that no common legal system is operating with fair and firm authority on the conduct of nations. Yet the belligerents on both sides, and the neutrals in between, go on appealing to international law as something which exists and which is consistently observed by themselves and violated by their opponents. Confused by a wordy and futile debate, the common man asks in irony or anger what kind of law it is that fails so utterly to prevent war. There is ground for the complaint; but the people who make it for the most part ignore their own share of the blame.

Men have scarcely begun to learn the essential conditions and elements of a law that could render in the international domain services commensurate with those expected of law within the nation. Since the process of learning will have to be accompanied or followed by drastic changes in popular as well as official attitudes, we probably have a long way to go.

It is as a fresh beginning in the necessary educational process that the "Postulates, Principles, and Proposals" for the International Law of the Future* recently put out by a number of Americans and Canadians should be regarded. I cannot tell how many of the signatories would agree with me in this view, but the trend of recent events and decisions seems to leave little prospect that the text will be adopted and brought into effect in any near future. It nevertheless remains a carefully documented statement of the indispensable elements of an effective legal order, which the world can have if and as men become willing to accept its implications.

What are these essential elements? The text does well to begin by postulating the reality of a community of states, presenting international law as the law of this community, and asserting the need of effective organization. The necessary basis for an effective legal system is a sense of community among the persons to whom it applies, and the strength of the law depends on the measure in which this sense is materialized in community institutions. But as I understand it, the text here has a further meaning which is equally fundamental.

One deep-seated weakness of the present system has been the doctrine, still prevalent among governments, that international law is merely a self-denying ordinance, resting solely on the consent of states and possessed of no external authority. This is part of the theory of sovereignty, which denies the existence of any political or legal superior over the state. It makes of international law a subjective thing, with each state the interpreter and judge of its own obligations. The vague concept of a

* "The International Law of the Future: Postulates, Principles, and Proposals." A statement of a community of views by 196 American and Canadian lawyers, judges, professors, and officials. Released for publication by Dr. Manley O. Hudson of the Harvard University School of Law, judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice and member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration.

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family or community of nations has not hitherto endowed that grouping with authority over its members.

International law, to be truly effective, must have objective authority. It must be made supranational. This can only be done by recognizing it as the law of a community to which the state, as a member, is subordinate. "The sovereignty of a state," says our text, "is subject to the limitations of international law." In the doctrine of the foreign offices, this is only a collective self-limitation, a sort of multiple New Year's resolution. The text would make it a community limitation, and would give reality to it by organized power.

The second essential is to make the use of force against states a monopoly of the community. Neither order nor justice can prevail in a community where any member may at will take the law into his own hands. Some jurists have held to the vague theory that a state could not legally resort to war except for just cause; but this, if it ever was accepted as a legal rule, ceased to be so regarded and in any event produced no visible effect. The Briand-Kellogg Pact of 1928 was an attempt to establish such a rule; but the interpretation that permitted self-defense and left each state judge of what constituted self-defense, together with the lack of any provisions for enforcement, made this treaty another scrap of paper.

Most systems of law permit self-defense; but anyone who would justify violence on this ground has to prove his case. The international law of the future must forbid states to use force save to repel attack, and must reserve to the community the power to inquire in any given case whether this justification really existed and, if it did not, to exact redress for the injured party.

Scrutiny of self-defense implies that the community has organs of a judicial character with obligatory jurisdiction. This kind of limitation on the use of force cannot operate if states remain free to refuse appearance before a tribunal. The exaction of redress implies power to enforce the tribunal's judgment. These, however, are far from being the only reasons why an effective community of states will need judicial and executive organs. Law cannot be applied without authoritative interpretation in specific cases, and it cannot of itself exact obedience. Disputes must be settled by impartial authority or there will be no peace.

Many states have entered into treaties of obligatory arbitration. But the obligation is limited to what are called "legal disputes," and this limitation has left states free to withhold from settlement disputes of a "political" or "non-justiciable" character. The distinction being a difficult one to draw, the practical result has been a marked tendency to thrust into the "non-justiciable" category any dispute involving a matter of first-rate importance. States have in fact done this with claims concerning territory, debts, and injuries suffered by citizens abroad, the plea being that some higher political interest was involved, such as national dignity, autonomy, or existence, which made judicial settlement inappropriate. Thus disputes of a type likely to lead to war—in other words, precisely those that most urgently need to be arbitrated—are peculiarly likely to escape arbitration.

This wide loophole in the international judicial structure needs to be closed by creating for the community of states organs with unqualified authority to settle any dispute which the parties fail to settle peacefully by themselves. It may well be that some disputes will call for a process of adjustment rather than adjudication, and that these should be handled by a political rather than a judicial organ. But no dispute likely to disturb the peace should be allowed to escape community agencies of one sort or another. The famous Geneva Protocol of 1924 was an attempt to secure just this complete coverage; but the nations were not ready for it, and it failed of ratification.

Once they have submitted to adjudication, the record of states in carrying out judgments has been remarkably good. This virtue may have been partly due to the fact that they have been free to refuse adjudication when they thought the stakes too high to risk an adverse decision. If this escape is closed, effective pressure may sometimes be required to bring a state into court and to compel compliance with the decision reached. As within the state, power behind the law, ready for use at need, will itself reduce the occasions when it must be used.

In all communities disputes occur which cannot be disposed of by the application of existing law. Reference has already been made to cases that call for adjustment rather than adjudication. What is needed may be merely a special exception to the existing law, or it may be a permanent amendment of general effect. Unless provision were made for such contingencies, the law would be frozen into a rigidity that would impose insufferable hardships and stop social progress. That way lies violent revolution. To avoid this in the national community we maintain bodies with legislative power; and these will also be needed in the world community. Nor can such bodies wait for unanimity. All the agencies of an effective community of states will have to act by majority. Otherwise action can be vetoed by any state with an interest in the status quo.

All these essentials—clear recognition of a supranational community exercising authority through law over states, prohibition of the use of force by states in their external relations, compulsory jurisdiction and organized sanctions to enforce obedience to supranational authority, and, finally, a legislative body competent to make particular adjustments and general amendments—are embodied in the American-Canadian text. I would add another, namely, recognition of the individual human being as a direct subject of rights and duties under supranational law. In a great many cases the only

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real sufferer from a breach of that law is one man or woman. A trader is injured by a foreign state's confiscation of his goods, an engineer is killed because a government fails to take ordinary precautions for the protection of foreigners, and his widow is left without support. Hitherto the victim has had to seek redress through his state, because in the traditional theory only states have any standing in international law. This has meant fantastic delays and a paralyzing complication of procedure. The effects have been regrettable enough in the past: in the future, as the demand grows for universally recognized rights of the human being as such, they will be worse.

Why is a legal system possessing these elements not likely to be incorporated in the post-war settlements? Some say, because our governments are empty of vision. It may be that we could go a long way toward the world-wide rule of law under leaders ready to venture farther from tradition. But the deepest reason is not there. If our statesmen show little sign of subordinating their countries to the kind of world government implied in this text, that is because nothing has convinced them, not even the accumulation of opinion polls, that this war has brought any profound change in the secular attachments of the mass of men.

The traditional law of nations has been useful in the past, and it may be increasingly useful in the future. Most states will be governed by it in their economic and political relations up to the point—which they will decide for themselves—where other means are required to safeguard what they consider vital interests. It will serve as one of several techniques in solving conflicts. Moreover, the promised post-war development of voluntary international institutions may constitute a gradual approach to world government. But a great deal more than political inventiveness will be needed on the way. Any permanent advance will depend on a reorientation of human loyalties.

The system of law proposed in our text calls, as it must, for the reduction of nation-states to the position of locally autonomous units in a ruling universal association. It presupposes the domination of patriotism by a triumphant conviction of world community. It assumes that men can be induced to trust treasured values to a new and strange political organization. In the end there may prove to be no other way of preserving those values. But not much evidence yet exists that the necessary psychological revolution has been accomplished. On the contrary, we are again confronted with one of the paradoxes of war: while it creates a demand for effective world law and organization, it fortifies the emotional barriers to their establishment. Yet the path of patient progress is not closed, and this text renders the service of sharply defining the goal.

In the Wind

MARVIN STEPHENS, sheriff of Murray County, Oklahoma, recently faced a huge mob of hooded men who had come to the county jail to lynch a Negro prisoner, told them about the federal anti-lynching law, and persuaded them to go home.

IT IS AN OLD New Orleans custom for Catholics to advertise their gratitude to the saints in the newspapers. Recently the *Times-Picayune* carried the following notice in its personal column: "Thanks to St. Jude and Huey Long for favors received."

THE CENTRAL BAPTIST CHURCH of Dallas, Texas, advertises a sermon: "Will the Modernists Force Another Civil War upon America over the Race Question?—Or—How the Same Men Who Deny the Literal and Bodily Resurrection of Christ Also Teach Racial Equality and Intermarriage!"

IN ALL THE 96 PAGES of Admiral King's report on naval operations there is only one passing reference to Canadian naval work in the North Atlantic, and no mention of the fact that the Royal Canadian Navy is doing more than 50 per cent of all convoy work in this area.

PRINTERS' INK reports that the housing shortage in Knoxville, Tennessee, is so acute that people watch the obituary columns of the newspapers and call the owners of houses and apartments as soon as vacancies occur. Some even watch the hospital notices.

THE FIRST MEMORIAL FUND in honor of William Allen White has been established by B'nai B'rith. In recognition of Mr. White's "lifetime crusade against bigotry and intolerance" $300 will be awarded each year to a student of the University of Kansas who in the opinion of a faculty committee has made the most outstanding contribution to interfaith understanding on the campus.

FESTUNG EUROPA: Some of the parsonages which loyal Norwegian pastors have been forced to abandon are being offered as rewards to Quisling followers returning from active service on the Russian front, but they are not always acceptable gifts. One man turned down a parsonage in favor of 30,000 kroner in cash; another refused to take one because he was afraid of the public reaction. . . . Last November the French underground announced that detachments of guerrillas would come out of hiding and parade through Nantua on a specified day. Nazi and Vichy police were ready in force to destroy them, but they didn't show up. They paraded in Oyonnax, twelve miles away, were acclaimed by the people, and slipped away to the mountains before the Nazis heard about it.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Behind the Greek "Mutiny"

BY BASIL VLAVIANOS

THE news of "mutiny" in the Greek army and navy in the Near East was not surprising to persons acquainted with the background of the outbreak. When force is used against a people which has sacrificed everything for freedom and independence, a strong reaction is inevitable.

As late as last August the Greek people were united as never before in their history. At that time they were represented in Cairo by six prominent members of the Greek underground—one of the best-organized movements in Europe—and by George Exintaris, the accredited representative of all political parties except the Communists. The delegation had gone to Egypt to stress the necessity for national unity, which alone, the members believed, could insure the "success of the national struggle and the normal development of the country."

These men, behind whom stood almost the entire Greek nation, demanded a statement from the King that he would not "return to Greece before the people have decided on the form of government." The National Liberation Front (E. A. M.), the most powerful underground group represented in the delegation, also demanded the formation of a coalition government in which all political parties and organizations would participate.

Allied diplomats had to choose between two courses: they could carry out the spirit of the Atlantic Charter, which they had created and extolled, or they could oppose the will and ignore the rights of the Greek people, rights for which the Greeks had shed their blood. Choosing the second, they advised the King to ignore the unanimous demand of his people. The representatives of the underground were placed under house arrest by the British authorities, kept strictly incomunicado, and later sent back to Greece under the most humiliating circumstances. Censorship in Egypt became increasingly ruthless, and the British government joined with the Greek royalist clique in a campaign to defame the guerrillas and justify their own antagonism toward them.

Minor differences between some guerrilla groups were deliberately exaggerated and were presented in the international press as bitter civil strife, in which the guerrillas were apparently squandering their strength to the neglect of the fight against the enemy. The E. A. M. was systematically smeared as "Communist" and, strange contradiction, as a collaborator with the enemy. Instead of supplying the E. A. M. with arms to the same extent as before, the British government began to favor the much weaker National Democratic Army (E. D. E. S.), thus laying the basis for real civil war in Greece. The E. D. E. S. would never have dared to attack the E. A. M. had it not been encouraged by unmistakable signs of the royalist and British policy.

Despite all this intrigue against them, the Greek guerrillas continued their gallant fight against the enemy. Last October Lieutenant Colonel Edmunds, chief of the Allied military mission in Greece proper, sent this message to the general staff of the army of the E. A. M., after a great victory in central Greece: "I have the honor to congratulate you and all guerrillas who participated yesterday in the battle against the German forces near Makrakome. I also wish you the same success in all future engagements with the enemy." But neither the message nor the news of this important battle, in which artillery and armored cars were employed by the Nazis, was published in this country.

On December 17, 1943, Prime Minister Tsouderos, in an interview granted to a Reuters correspondent, denounced the Greek guerrillas for wanton crimes committed for no other reason than their leaders' greed for personal power. The same accusations were subsequently repeated in an appeal to the leaders of the guerrillas to return to their "peaceful occupations." Their peaceful occupations! Even Secretary Hull was induced by the British and the Tsouderos government to take part in the campaign against the resistance groups. On January 1, 1944, he declared that the guerrilla armies were, in fact, "dissipating their strength in internal quarrels." The State Department, however, must have known of the Greek victories and of the censorship which prevented the news from reaching this country.

These consistent slurs upon the efforts of the Greek people naturally caused anxiety in the regular armed forces and the Greeks in Egypt. On December 30, 1943, the Hellenic League of Liberation, an organization representing the E. A. M. in Cairo, appealed once more to Mr. Tsouderos and the members of the Greek Cabinet to cease their hostility to the guerrillas and to form a coalition government in which the Greek underground would be represented. "Greek public opinion," it declared, "being informed about the magnificent struggle of the Greek people in general and of the guerrillas in particular, is well aware of the great national unity achieved in this struggle, and it firmly believes that

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the fighting Greek people possess the necessary political maturity not to fall victims to elements motivated by personal ambition. Public opinion, however, is afraid that the causes of the present discord between certain guerrilla groups are not the personal rivalries of the leaders but the intrigues of reactionary totalitarian groups, scheming incessantly, now as in the past, against the democratic aspirations of the Greek people."

This warning and many others from Greece and from Greek liberals all over the world were as voices in the wilderness. The Greek government in exile, with the support of the British Foreign Office, was resourceful in finding pretexts for not complying with the demands of the Greek underground and in obscuring the whole issue. Confronted with this situation, the E. A. M. decided to name a committee within Greece to recommend the formation of a national coalition government. The committee was immediately attacked as communistic, although, of its five members, only one, Mr. G. Siantos, is a Communist. Its president, Colonel E. Bakirdjis, is "as far to the left as Lloyd George in his Limehouse days," to use the expression of the London *New Statesman and Nation*. Two other members, the hero of Crete, General Manolis Mantakas, and a former deputy in the Greek Parliament, Mr. E. Tsirimokos, are right-wing liberals. The fifth member, Mr. K. Gavrielides, is a leftist Agrarian.

But the political convictions of the members of the committee are irrelevant, since they did not form a government, as they could have done, but simply addressed themselves to the gentlemen in Cairo, urging the creation of a coalition government. Every Greek patriot—civilian or soldier—supported the request, realizing that it was the last chance to attain true national unity. For if the request were turned down, an opposition government like Marshal Tito's might indeed be formed on Greek soil, and disunity would then assume really dangerous proportions.

The crisis grew. Many individuals and organizations besought the royal government to comply with the demands of the underground. Tsouderos made promises and then broke them. The British authorities increased their persecution of democratic officers and soldiers. More than four thousand had already been sent to concentration camps, and many more were arrested daily. The impression became prevalent in the army that the Allies intended to get rid of it in toto because of its unwillingness to support the King. George II continued his intrigues in London, disregarding the appeals of his people to form a government of national unity, to free political prisoners, and to cease his dictatorial practices. The army's determination to end his machinations took more and more concrete form.

A committee of high officers demanded that Tsouderos form a national government or resign. He arrested them. Hundreds of other persons, not only army men but wealthy civilians, were arrested for expressing a favorable opinion of the E. A. M.'s request. People disappeared without a warrant having been issued, without any specific charge having been brought against them, and without notification to their families. The Greek military headquarters in Cairo were occupied by force. The offices of the Greek government were placed under British supervision. The editor of the newspaper *Hellin* and the directors of the Hellenic League of Liberation and of the Seamen's Association of Alexandria were arrested.

This was the atmosphere in which the "mutiny" occurred. It was carried out by men who had fought against Mussolini and Hitler, who had gallantly covered the evacuation of the British army from Greece, and who had come to Egypt in order to continue their fight for freedom. They formed more than 60 per cent of the Greek army and almost the entire navy; Admiral Alexandris himself was at their head. Several of them were killed; a great many are now in prison or a concentration camp awaiting the judgment of Mr. Churchill.

No one approves of armed revolt in time of war. But to say that this one was provoked by "enemy agents" or by Communists is as lacking in decency as the appeals for unity that have been uttered by those most responsible for destroying it. It is as nonsensical as the pretension of the British government and the Greek government in exile that they can teach patriotism to the Greek people.

A new Greek government has now been formed in Cairo. The new Prime Minister, George Papandreou, is known as an able and liberal statesman. He came recently from Greece and is undoubtedly well acquainted with the people's wishes. He has promised to comply with their will and to restore unity and discipline. Others before him have made promises. They were unable to keep them because foreign interference in Greek politics was too strong.

Greek unity today is more in the hands of British and American liberals than in those of any Greek government in exile. Powerful voices have already been raised in the British press and in Parliament against the official attitude. Other voices have waited over-long to demand the repeal of all illiberal measures in Egypt and Greece and respect for the will of the Greek people. Voices lifted in the causes of Greek democracy are lifted for the democratic future of the world.

The British government's policy toward Greece runs

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counter to British public opinion. It is inspired by fear of communism and of Russian influence in the Balkans, but it is destined to have the opposite effect from what its sponsors intend. It will lose them friends throughout Eastern Europe and will paralyze the Greek armed forces and the Greek underground resistance at a time when their cooperation can be extremely useful to the war effort and to the restoration of a true democratic order in the Balkans.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

ALTHOUGH the railroads of the Reich have become pitifully run down, they were adequate to the demands of a one-front war. But now that the "two-front war" is drawing near, something like a transportation panic has arisen. The most striking sign of this is a recent revolutionary decree about potatoes.

On April 7 the authoritative agricultural organ of the Nazi Party declared: "The German transportation system can no longer be asked to carry millions of tons of potatoes every autumn to distant regions where potatoes are not grown." And to relieve the railroads of this strain the government has taken extreme measures. German potatoes come in large part from the northeastern provinces, where the poor "light" soil is good for little else. The rich "heavy" soil of the rest of the country is used for growing grain and vegetables. Now in the middle of a war all that is to be changed! The agricultural authorities have decreed that this season, to save transportation, each province shall raise approximately as many potatoes as it needs. Thus good soil will be wasted on a crop for which poor soil suffices, and the cultivation of more valuable crops, which require rich earth, will be correspondingly curtailed. Admittedly the change will affect the quantity as well as the quality of the total harvest. But this worsening of the food situation will be part of the price paid for ameliorating the transportation crisis. Even the layman can see how bad the latter must be.

Many other facts confirm such a conclusion. Although coal, for example, is terribly scarce and strictly rationed throughout the Reich, in the coal-producing region of Lower Silesia all coal rationing was lifted at the end of March. Local papers explained this development with the laconic statement that freight cars to move the coal were not available: "If rationing were continued, the accumulation of briquets on the storage dumps would encumber the pitheads."

In the second and third weeks of April 50,000 German railroad workers were sent to France to help operate the French railroads. In fact, the German army has taken full and direct control of the French roads. Some details about German plans for their use at the time of the invasion are reported in the *Gazette de Lausanne* for April 25. "If the Allies make a landing in France," the paper says, "a prearranged plan by which ordinary traffic will be reduced to 20 per cent of normal will be immediately put into effect. All passenger train service will be suspended, and freight trains will be reserved exclusively for transporting the authorized food supply." It goes on to picture the anxiety of the people of Paris, who are well aware of the Germans' intentions and fear that they will starve during the struggle for their liberation. For the majority of Parisians subsist not on the "authorized food supply" but on the so-called "family package service," which they expect to be discontinued. According to this account, an important official in the Ministry of Food recently said that the people of Paris would soon starve if they could not supplement their daily diet with "family packages."

> More than a million Parisians are now living off these packages, which are sent in every day by railway express from the most productive agricultural areas. Within the city a fast delivery service making use of 2,000 handcarts has been organized. Since the occupying forces are constantly increasing their requisitions, it is becoming more and more difficult for the people to obtain even the food for which they have coupons. The situation is particularly desperate for persons earning less than 2,000 francs a month, who cannot afford to buy in the black market. Without the package system these people could hardly exist.

One might suppose that the Nazi authorities, occupied with the pressing needs of the moment, would have temporarily relegated their long-range theories to the background. But that is not the case. The *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* of April 11 informs us, for example, of a new measure in the service of that eternal obsession, the increase of the German race.

> Munich is the first German city to establish a Marriage Bureau for soldiers on leave. The purpose is to give men and women who want to marry an opportunity to get acquainted. Lectures and teas are held at which people can wander around and choose someone they like. It is said that disabled soldiers experience particular difficulty, primarily of a mental nature, and they are therefore the first ones to be advised by the bureau. As soon as a couple has become acquainted, the bureau tries to deepen the friendship by arranging visits to the theater and excursions. In addition to this service, matches will be arranged by mail for front-line soldiers.

The idea of the Marriage Bureau originated, the paper emphasizes, in the mind of Herr Himmler himself. Apparently the Gestapo chief busies himself with filling not only graves but cradles.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The First World Peace

VICTORY WITHOUT PEACE. By Roger Burlingame and Alden Stevens. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.75.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS. By Stephen Bonsal. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.

BOTH books relate the same dismal tragedy—the sinking of Wilson's great ideal in the quagmire of diplomacy and politics. Both have the same anxious question in view: shall we commit exactly the same errors, with the same ineluctable result? The methods of presentation are radically different; both are extremely effective.

"Victory Without Peace" is not "a new kind of history"; it is standard popular history, with the technique and fascination of romance—Carlyle, Michelet, or Lamartine in their more sober moods. It is "easy to read" in the same way as a pretty woman is "easy to look at." The story is excellently told, without any factitious ornaments. There are fewer slips than in most books concocted by the Dryasdusts. The volume is too brief to be a searching study. It is a bit of hagiography and propaganda: St. Wilson, virgin and martyr, with his halo; the Evil One, Senator Lodge, with his baleful leer—"You shall not escape me!" It is oversimplified but essentially true. The authors take it for granted that Wilson constantly lived on the higher levels reached by his great pronouncements—peaks which dwarf the best achievements of the present generation. Alas! The prophet, in his uninspired moments, was a bit of a politician and a bit of a pedagogue; he could be at the same time vague and arrogant, hesitating and stubborn. But at his best he was a major prophet, and remains our spiritual leader today. For Messrs. Burlingame and Stevens he was 99 per cent pure gold; my own estimate is 66 per cent. This places him in a totally different class from the alleged statesmen who were solid brass, tin, lead, or plain pasteboard. I wish this book the most brilliant success. It tells a great story with directness and sympathy; and it is, without wearisome moralizing, a good preparation for the ordeal ahead of us—an ordeal which more than actual war will try men's souls.

Stephen Bonsal, a great foreign correspondent, became the trusted assistant of Colonel House: his confidential adviser, contact man, interpreter: the gray shadow of the Gray Eminence, with the appropriate rank of lieutenant colonel. By Wilson's request he kept notes on committee meetings of which no official record was preserved. Nearly one half of the book—Colonel Bonsal's missions to Vienna, Prague, Belgrade, Budapest, Berlin—is fascinating but of no unique value. The rest, devoted to the drafting of the Covenant, is a document of commanding importance.

The proof of Bonsal's honesty is that, with the facts as he presents them, we may reach conclusions quite different from his own. He disposes easily of the accusation that the European politicians "ganged up" against Wilson; on the contrary, every country was more eager to cooperate with America than with any other ally. Clemenceau comes out very well—a realist with an ideal. "I became convinced that your President wanted the same thing that I did . . . but . . . Mr. Wilson has lived in a world that has been fairly safe for democracy. I have lived in a world where it was good form to shoot a democrat."

The villain of the drama—a great surprise to me—was Lord Robert Cecil. At every step he took the most thoroughgoing reactionary line: no freedom of the sea; no equality between races; no equality between nations; no international force in which a British officer might have to take orders from a foreigner; no compulsory arbitration; no disarmament that would actually disarm Britain; in a word, nothing that could have made the League a reality. In addition, atrocious manners, outbursts of temper against "pestiferous" Hymans, "long-winded" Bourgeois, and Bonsal himself, who happened to know French better than the noble lord.

As I read this book, the great flaw in drafting the Covenant was that Wilson and House, devoid of genuine international experience, thought that agreement with England would suffice. All other nations were mercilessly snubbed. The words of Dmowski have a tragic ring today: "I had hoped that our distinguished and most welcome visitors from across the seas, broad as well as narrow, would carefully weigh the unanimous opinion of those unfortunate peoples who dwell so near the cave where the wolf pack lowers." Léon Bourgeois was pompous, no doubt, and verbose, but he was no fool; he knew Europe, and he had studied the problems of a League, not like Wilson for fifteen months, but for twenty years. To the last he fought for definite commitments, an organized force, were it only in the form of a general staff. When he insisted on clarity, Wilson responded with a tolerant shrug: "Let us not attempt to be precise. If the thing is really clear, it goes without saying; saying it might imply that it was not universally accepted. If it is not obvious, let us leave it out; it might offend somebody sometime. Definition is limitation. We want the Monroe Doctrine to mean whatever we choose whenever we like. If anything is hazy, let us leave it to the tribunal of public opinion." No wonder Larnaude, an authority on international law, was appalled.

"The court of public opinion"! I believe the common people were with Wilson, in America and in Europe. But they had no direct way of making their will manifest. Wilson could not have had "a solemn referendum" unless he had actually taken a referendum; and this form of direct democracy is not in the American Constitution. He could not have made an all-out appeal to the European masses without inciting them to revolt against their lawful governments. From an assembly of diplomats and politicians, jealously watched by the politicians at home, no democratic constitution for a new world can be expected. When we do want a World Charter, it will have to be prepared not by two or three supermen in secret conclave but by a convention of the common man in open debate.

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Both books dwell on the tragedy of Wilson's illness; it had cast its shadow long before. Both equally fail to note the most momentous decision in the conference—a decision into which the Mighty apparently slipped unawares. It was understood that there would be a short meeting of the Allies, to agree on a common program; this, according to House, would last perhaps three weeks. Then the actual conference would begin, involving full and free discussion with the Germans. Imperceptibly, the preliminary conference became the main show, and the meeting with the former enemy was reduced to handing down a *Diktat*.

Bonsal, in his scrupulous honesty, bears witness to a couple of things which at present we should prefer to forget. The first is that Baron Makino, of Japan, made a brilliant fight for the juridical equality of races and nations. He won, eleven to six, but Wilson ruled that in this case unanimity was necessary. The second is that in exchange for the recognition of the Monroe Doctrine the right of Japan to proclaim a similar doctrine in Eastern Asia was tacitly recognized. It is a great tribute to our freedom of the press that such a damaging document could be published at the present time.

ALBERT GUERARD

The Poet Perse

ELOGES AND OTHER POEMS. By St. John Perse. Translated by Louise Varèse. Introduction by MacLeish. W. W. Norton and Company. $2.50.

THE Germans, when they took Paris, in 1940, sacked the apartment of Alexis St. Léger Leger and destroyed several manuscript volumes of his poems. Hence, all the poems by the famous St. John Perse now in existence, other than those composed since his escape to the United States, are the ones he had already published. They are the tiny epic "Anabase," and the volume of the "Eloges"—pictorial poems that like so many of the Psalms are *laudi* or songs of homage—which has just reappeared in the present superb French-English version. For Perse and Leger are one person.

What took the Germans to his apartment was the fact that he was a French public servant, since 1931 the Permanent Secretary of Foreign Affairs, who had opposed the cabal preparing to surrender France and been dismissed from office. Pertinax, the wholly reliable publicist, characterizes him in his last volume, "Les Fossoyeurs" ("The Gravediggers"), as "a man of absolute moral and intellectual integrity."

Why Leger had chosen to publish under a pseudonym, unlike Joseph de Maistre, Gobineau, Claudel, and other French diplomats who also were bellettrists, is not quite clear. He first appeared in print in the initial issue of *La Nouvelle Revue Française* in 1909, with the earliest version of the least representative section of the "Eloges," the sardonic "Images for Crusoe." It was over his own name. But the later poems in the book, and all its editions, as well as "Anabase," were signed St. Jean Perse. Rumor has it that Briand, whose intimate collaborator he was for many years, requested the disguise. Another and plausible explanation is proffered by MacLeish in his introduction to the Norton volume. This much is certain: in literary Europe it was an open secret that the influential author of "Anabase," whose array of translators included Rilke, Eliot, and Ungaretti, presided over the Quai d'Orsay.

Yet if merely the "Eloges" had survived, one still could perceive the spiritual figure of the author. Plainly it shows him as the foil of Gide, whose exquisite, sensuous, minimally metaphoric style his own resembles. One of the volume's loveliest sections, "Friendship of the Prince" (the soul), is the antithesis of Gide's clever prose fantasy "El Hadj." That also concerned a prince who was the soul. But there the prince died and left his prophet a charlatan. Another section, the ballad-like "Homage to a Queen," is a sort of anti-Corydon. The "Queen" not only is Woman. The homage is bare of masochism. (This exciting, amusingly audacious poem archly also reverses the direction of a perverse line of Rimbaud's, from his prose-poem about the hermaphroditic demi-god.) Indeed, Perse's attitude is entirely the counterpart of Gide's hesitant, detached, infinitely variable one. Perse is the man of participations, connections, constancies.

The "Eloges" are songs of connection, frequently with those "suburbs of Marseilles," the French Antilles, where Leger was born of an old colonial family in 1889; and with his childhood there. The attitude is emphasized by the pervading spirit of praise and the accents of gratitude. Again one sees it in exclamations like certain of those in which he salutes the "Queen": "O body like a table of sacrifices! and table of my law!"; "Ha Necessary One! and Solitary!" The very form symbolizes connection. It is incantatory, built of the chanting recitation of words, refrains, obsessive rhythms resembling those that fortuitously rise to the surface of the mind when it is in singular states of receptivity to objects, landscapes, cosmic forces and in continuity with them; saturated with their qualities.

At first these rich songs must seem strange. Their movement is close to that of lyrical French prose, though distinguished from it by subtle but pronounced linkages of assonances and sustentations of rhythm. Really they fall into the shapely free-verse mold which Leger took over from the young Claudel and has steadily elaborated and variously employed: the mold, established on the principle of the French alexandrine, which equilibrates irregularly extensive, complexly rhythmical, alternately rising and falling utterances with sounds that evoke the elements continuously about caesuras. And some of his pictures, curiously, recall the weird treasures of ethnographic museums; others, figure or landscape paintings by Matisse: still others, the gaudy emblems inside the covers of Havana-cigar boxes. It may be that some of the poems will even suggest those minor triumphs of French epicureanism, pâté de foie gras and camembert! This is the consequence of a romanticism in Leger's style of imagination. He loves picturesquely strange, timeless, tropical, or barbaric symbols and imagery. Boldly he has continued the variegation of poetic French. And he possesses an occasionally over-rich, over-ripé sensuousness, a taste for word and color clashes and concentrated piquant and pungent effects.

But his poems shine: by virtue of the clarity of their pictures; the serenity of their feeling; their sapient exploitation of sound-values and the delicate sonority of their dense and sumptuous verbal textures; above all, by virtue of their

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lyricism of emotional contact and the steady pressure of their taut and expanding rhythms. And let not the unwary reader be deceived into believing it is entirely earthly objects they seek to embrace. Their gesticulation rather more concerns "a high condition . . . in the dominion of the shifting lights"; a wonder couched in the sensuous circumstance; a divinity within the rhythm and color of the earthly. It is something akin to what is celebrated in that "holiest of holy books" "The Song of Songs." Theologians might call it "the immanence" of God.

PAUL ROSENFELD

Hitler's Military Machine

THE GERMAN ARMY. By Herbert Rosinski. The Infantry Journal. $3.

DR. ROSINSKI'S excellent book on the German army traces its history from the time of the father of Frederick the Great to the Battle of Salerno. It supersedes not only the author's previous study of the same subject—in fact, the present book is more than a revised edition, it is a completely new work—but also most of the other books on the German army published in recent years. Since it contains a penetrating analysis of the functioning of the German military machine and a discussion of the military ideas prevailing in the German General Staff, it should be read by all those who are currently engaged in destroying the military power of the German Reich.

Dr. Rosinski balances well the influences of external circumstances and necessities with the contributions to the development of the German army made by personalities such as Frederick, Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, Boyen, Moltke, Roon, Schlieffen, Ludendorff, and Seeckt. He rightly stresses the importance of moral and intellectual factors, such as the principle of duty and the philosophy of war of Clausewitz. The causes of the extraordinary strength of the German army are found largely in its system of coordination and command, in the organization of the General Staff, which even today has many features as yet unequaled in other armies, and in the military concepts according to which the Germans shape their strategy. These concepts include the *Vernichtungsgedanke*—"directing the military effort not upon an inconclusive 'ordinary victory,' but upon a decisive act of annihilation"; the idea that in matters of war the whole determines the part, and not vice versa; and the rigid rule that every military operation must be based upon a center of gravity.

It must be emphasized that Dr. Rosinski's book contains many pages of original historical research. The author is able to shed light on several hitherto inadequately known events and persons. In particular, his description of General von Seeckt and of the post-World War maintenance of the German army deserves the utmost attention, certainly on the part of our "peace-planners."

There will be disagreement with some of the book's judgments. A life-long study of the subject has caused the author to adopt an attitude toward the pre-Hitler army which frequently is too benevolent. The acts of Frederick the Great are open to different interpretations. Not all students of the First World War will be inclined to accept the author's version of the causes of the German failure in 1914, or his evaluation of Falkenhayn. In the reviewer's opinion there is no evidence for the statement that the German attack on Norway in 1940 was primarily a defensive move, particularly since the author himself recognizes that the strategic importance of the Scandinavian area was not realized by the Allies. In his analysis of the current German military ideas, the author has omitted two of the most important—namely, the doctrine that surprise is the key to victory, and the *Wehrmachtgedanke,* that is, the notion that ground, sea, and air forces, while maintaining their organizational independence, should be welded together for the purpose of combined strategy. The failure fully to carry this idea out in practice may be one of the main reasons why the Germans are going to lose the war. Finally, one would have liked to hear more about the consequences of Nazi infiltration into, and Hitler's leadership of, the German army. Obviously, the author was handicapped in this respect by lack of material. But an important institution like the *Führungstab* should deserve more than a passing reference.

However, all these are largely matters of opinion. They do not alter the fact that Dr. Rosinski's concisely and lucidly written book is one of the most revealing and timely contributions to the history of the present war.

STEFAN T. POSSONY

Empire and India

EMPIRE. By Louis Fischer. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $1.

IMPERIALISM means India, and in so short and "popular" a book Mr. Fischer is quite right to ignore the more complex colonial problems that exist in Africa and the Pacific. He is not trying to stimulate anti-British prejudice, and the uninformed reader would come away from this book with a true general picture as well as some quotable facts and figures.

As he perceives, the uninformed reader is the one most worth aiming at. No enlightened person needs any longer to be told that imperialism is an evil. The point Mr. Fischer is at pains to make clear is that it not only breeds wars but impoverishes the world as a whole by preventing the development of backward areas. The "owner" of a colony usually does its best to exclude foreign trade; it strangles local industries—the British, to take only one instance, have deliberately prevented the growth of an automobile industry in India; and in self-protection it not only goes on the principle of "divide and rule" but more or less consciously fosters ignorance and superstition. In the long run it is not to the advantage, even in crude cash terms, of the ordinary Briton or American that India should remain in the Middle Ages; and the common people of both countries ought to realize this, for they are the only ones who are likely to do anything about it. No one in his senses imagines that the British ruling class will relinquish India voluntarily. The only hope lies in British and American public opinion, which at the time of the Cripps mission, for instance, could have forced a more generous offer upon the British government if it had understood the issues.

At the same time Mr. Fischer does oversimplify the

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Indian problem, even in terms of the very general picture that he is trying to give. To begin with, he does not say often enough or emphatically enough that India has no chance of freedom until some kind of international authority is established. In a world of national sovereignties and power politics it is improbable that even a British government of the left would willingly grant genuine independence to India. To do so would simply be to hand India over to some other power, which from either a selfish or an altruistic point of view is no solution. Secondly, in his anxiety to sound reasonable Mr. Fischer overplays the economic motive. It is not certain that increased prosperity for India would benefit the rest of the world *immediately*. Just suppose, he says, that 400,000,000 Indians all took to wearing shoes. Would not that mean a wonderful market for British and American shoe manufacturers? The Indians, however, might prefer to make their shoes for themselves, and as the Indian capitalist's idea of a living wage is two cents an hour, the effect of Indian competition on the Western standard of living might be disastrous. At present the West as a whole is exploiting Asia as a whole, and to right the balance may mean considerable sacrifices over a number of years. It is better to warn people of this and not lead them to imagine that honesty always pays in the financial sense.

The direct, assessable money profit that Britain draws from India is not enormous. If one divided it up among the British population it would only amount to a few pounds a year. But as Mr. Fischer rightly emphasizes, it is not divided among the population; it flows into the pockets of a few thousand persons who also control government policy and incidentally own all the newspapers. Up to date these people have been uniformly successful in keeping the truth about India from the British public. To enlighten the American public may perhaps be a little easier, since American interests are not so directly involved, and Mr. Fischer's book is not bad as a start. But he ought to supplement it by warning his readers of the difficult transition period that lies ahead, and also of the sinister forces, political and economic, that exist within India itself.

GEORGE ORWELL

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What is surprising is that his collected thoughts should be as much suited to desultory "bedside" reading as his views are worthy of being called a philosophy. Anywhere that you dip in, you find the man, with his tone and temper,

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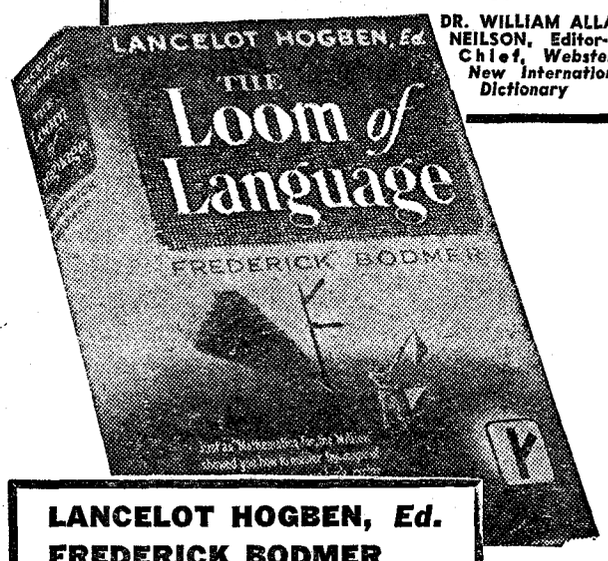

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and not merely a cultivated echo of an enlightened epoch. We have all, perhaps, been led to misjudge Jefferson's style, on the strength of the first paragraph of the Declaration of Independence. We forget that he was composing a peculiarly solemn public document and that if he knew how to suit the occasion so well, he must at other moments be able to sound a livelier tune. Read in Dr. Padover's collection how you can make a metronome with a piece of string and five brads, what Dr. Franklin reported about English physicians and old women, or why John Adams should think Plato nonsensical, and you will be convinced that Jefferson was not only a universal mind but also a nimble pen. He is as good a writer of *pensées* as any French moralist, and he carries besides that flavor of the New World which attaches him to our tradition.

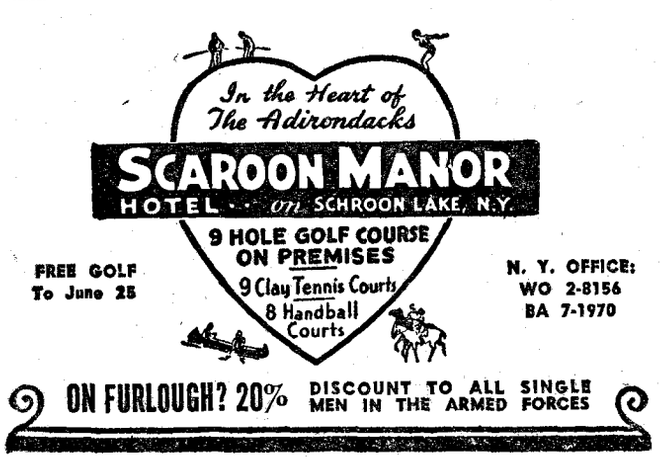
This last element has had something to do with creating the commonplace that Jefferson's doctrine is "fundamental" in our national life. I would not disturb this belief, to which we owe the upkeep of his works and reputation. But it is clear on reading him in bulk that there was in him a good deal of the "superior man," which the national tradition hardly tolerates. He was "for" the common people by taste and principle, but equally against their tendency toward herd behavior. He was far less adept at manipulating group opinion or yielding to group pressure than his friend Franklin. Jefferson, in fact, brings out all the latent ambiguity in the word democracy: he was a great democrat because his instincts were aristocratic. He trusted the principle of equality because he did not feel insecure, downtrodden, or envious. He was for the little fellow's rights because he himself was an independent.

Let us rather hope, then, that Jefferson's thought *becomes* more and more representative of American life until it erases the blot discerned upon the fabric of our social relations by every honest and observant lover of freedom, from Tocqueville and Emerson to Whitman and Wilde. Whatever may be the effect of books upon conduct, we shall no longer be able to plead ignorance of Jefferson's deeper meaning. The list of Jeffersoniana, in hand or in prospect, is pleasantly staggering. Besides Bernard Mayo's neat anthology and the older collected writings, there is to be a definitive edition, planned by the Princeton Press and the New York *Times*, under the editorship of Dr. Julian Boyd and associated scholars. Mrs. Kimball's research upon Jefferson's early years is, I believe, being carried forward to make a full biography, and just recently the Guggenheim Foundation subsidized Miss Adrienne Koch, author of a monograph on Jefferson, for a further study of his philosophy in comparison with that of Madison and Monroe.

But most of these books are or will be for scholars. Hence the special value, now and for a long time to come, of Dr. Padover's one-volume unencumbered edition. It should be the home Jefferson, the traveler's *vade mecum*, the omnibus of the bedridden. Unfortunately and quite unnecessarily, it weighs three and three-quarter pounds. Why do American publishers sell the spirit of man by the hundredweight? It is not true that 1,300 pages must always show a great alacrity in sinking, for there is no need to bind them in second-hand coffin lids, or to use paper artificially loaded with clay. European books of comparable size can be held in one hand or read in bed with comfort. Indeed, one New York firm of foreign origin, Pantheon Books, has shown what can be done even under war-time restrictions, and I see no loss of face involved for anyone who should follow their lead.

In the second printing of "The Complete Jefferson," which I hope may be thus improved, the editor will also want to correct a scattering of misprints, particularly in foreign words. Perhaps, too, he might be induced to add two things at no great expense of space—first, the emendations offered by Adams and Franklin to the original Declaration of Independence and, second, the list of texts from the New Testament which form the Jefferson Bible. One page of these numbered references would be equivalent to adding a characteristic work and would make clearer the grounds for the religious opinions Jefferson propounds in the essays here reprinted.

JACQUES BARZUN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THIS little book, written by one of the leading designers of contemporary furniture and gaily illustrated by Mary Petty, is as pertinent to post-war thinking as the speeches of Henry Wallace. Mr. Robsjohn-Gibbings wants to take the American home out of the snobbish hands of Fifty-seventh Street—and its Grand Rapids imitators—and give it back to the American people. The author has wit, and his exposé of the history and present practice of the antiques racket is highly entertaining reading. But beneath the urbane surface is a crusader's fervor.

Elsie De Wolfe once offered the sinister advice to the wives of America that in interior decoration they must remember that "men are forever guests in our homes." Actually both the Little Woman and her husband were guests—and barely tolerated at that—of Elsie De Wolfe, Condé Nast, and others who controlled the taste of the fashion magazines in New York and erected their snobberies into a national canon of "good taste." Because the United States was little more than a large absence on the spiritual map of these fashionable New Yorkers, the taste of average Americans was turned toward antiques and the Olde Worlde.

It didn't matter that Europe itself was hailing us for just

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those aesthetic achievements which had escaped the tasteful aegis of Fifty-seventh Street. Our kitchens and bathrooms were marvels of functional design. Frank Lloyd Wright, the pupil of Louis Sullivan ("Form follows function"), was acknowledged abroad as the most creative force in contemporary architecture. But the Elsie De Wolfes and Condé Nasts, like good colonials, were not to be put off. *Plus royaliste que le roi,* they knew what was good taste even if old Mother Europe forgot.

One must realize that the taste represented by Fifty-seventh Street is colonial. It is not a question here of advocating a strident nationalism. Civilized nations have always swapped contemporary idioms. But the colonial taste does not swap; it borrows, passively and sentimentally. And in the borrowing the organic connection between the thing borrowed and the life for which it was created is lost. A modern American kitchen is good art, an expression of American life. Most American furniture is not art at all; it is a sentimental décor for colonials.

Significantly enough, Mr. Robsjohn-Gibbings, now an American citizen, came here from Britain seven years ago. Like other creative Europeans, such as W. H. Auden, it was the *newness* of the New World that attracted him. While Elsie De Wolfe, now Lady Mendl, was happily enveloped in an eighteenth-century dream at the Villa Trianon in Versailles, Mr. Robsjohn-Gibbings had arrived in New York to join in the fight to win America back for the Americans.

WILLIAM GILMORE

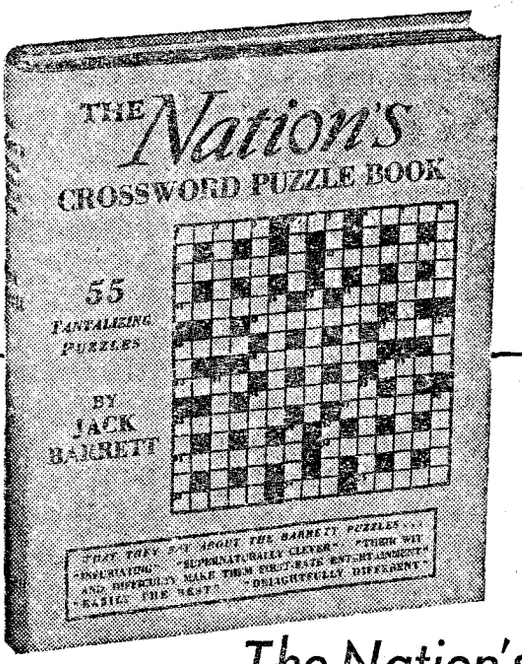
Drama Note

KIDDING the Greeks is a theatrical device that has given faithful service. "Helen Goes to Troy" (Alvin Theater) indicates that it ought to be retired, at least temporarily. The production has everything—the music of Offenbach, gorgeous costumes, pretty girls, choreography by Massine, sets and lighting by Robert Edmond Jones, Jarmila Novotna, and a charming young lady named Rose Inghram who plays the part of Discordia. It has everything, that is, but wit. The "new book" sounds as if its authors had had an old joke book propped up between them as they labored. The new lyrics for Offenbach's lighthearted music seem to have been put together with the aid of a rather dog-eared copy of the Tin Pan Alley Thesaurus.

A Viennese friend informs me that in the European version the words of "La Belle Hélène" were never as good as the music, but that the piece was a handy vehicle for comedians, in the parts of Menelaus and Calchas, who wanted to make something of them. In the American version Ralph Dumke makes something very heavy and obvious of the role of Calchas. Ernest Truex does better with Menelaus, but all the gods, modern and ancient, are against him. Miss Novotna passes well enough for Helen, but her grand-opera training is something of a handicap for musical comedy. She doesn't take the part lightly enough. I found it difficult to take Paris (William Horne) seriously enough.

The spirit of Offenbach is pretty well buried in what turns out to be a lavish musical designed for the summer trade.

MARGARET MARSHALL



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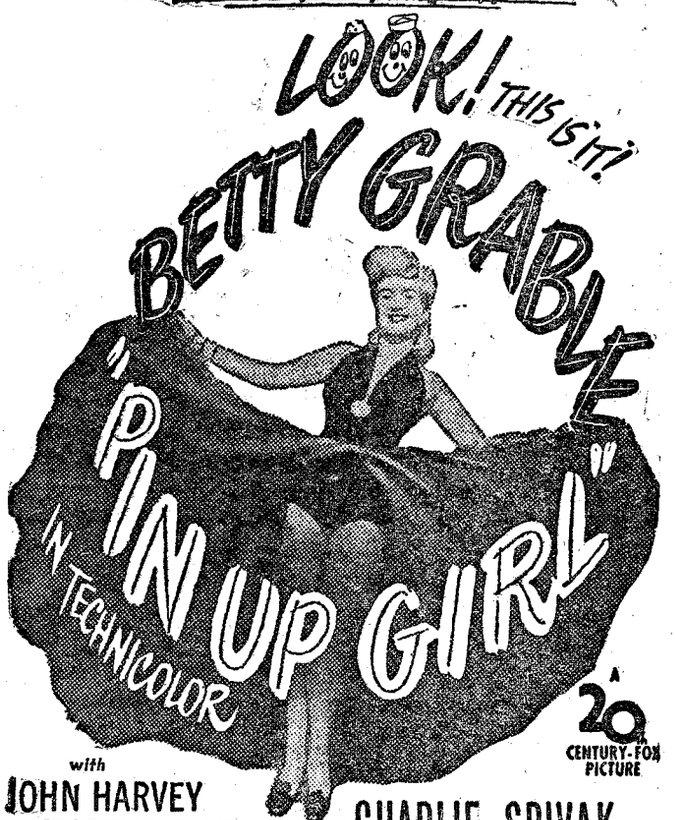

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FILMS

SOME of the following films are worth more detailed comment and may get it in the course of time. Meanwhile here is a check-list.

"Going My Way," a rather saccharine story about priests, has a gentle, engaging performance by Bing Crosby, a very full and fine one by Barry Fitzgerald, and a general leisure and appreciation of character which I think highly of. It would have a little more stature as a "religious" film if it dared suggest that evil is anything worse than a bad cold and that lack of self-knowledge can be not merely cute and inconvenient but also dangerous to oneself and to others. "It Happened Tomorrow" is the deftest, prettiest film René Clair has made here, and a few moments in it—notably a box-office holdup—are beautiful. But its basic idea seems a limp one, the story is over-ingenious, and there are only glimmers of the pure joy which was so abundant in Clair's great films; I doubt that anyone could achieve such joy, or its equivalent, in contemporary Hollywood. "The Adventures of Mark Twain" gets long and soggy but has frequent good intention and occasional near-successes, especially when it forgets to be a biography and stretches its points for the fun of it. The jumping-frog contest is really funny.

"The Hitler Gang" fascinates me as all waxworks do; otherwise it worries me because of its solemn effort to stick to the "facts" before an audience which is liable, on that account, to swallow it whole. Hitler strikes me as something other than a pitiful, vicious psychotic incapable of an idea, and I don't enjoy the picture's apparent suggestion—through the respectful portrayal of Gregor Strasser—that there would be nothing wrong with National Socialism if only the vicious ringleaders were eliminated. "Address Unknown" is rather vapid anti-fascism, too: full of sincere and, in their uninteresting way, skilful shadows by William Cameron Menzies. But neither Paul Lukas nor anyone else can give it much bite. Lukas can do nothing for the Errol Flynn vehicle "Uncertain Glory," either, beyond increasing one's respect for an actor who refuses to sink to the level of his material. In "Buffalo Bill" William Wellman has constructed a Technicolored Indian battle, derived perhaps from the battle in "Alexander Nevsky," which is fun to watch, and in general he makes good use of the plains and the movement of people on them. But most of the picture is boring. "Up in Mabel's Room" is as horrible, and wonderful, as watching a Gopher Prairie dramatic club play a mail-order farce (6m., 6f.). "The Yellow Canary" is mediocre British spy stuff, relieved only by British film cliché, which is several times as realistic and intelligent as ours. "The Lady and the Monster" is a mad-scientist movie featuring Erich von Stroheim and a Czech ex-skating champion named Vera Hruba Ralston, who does not skate in this one and whom I thought unusually attractive. The picture is two-thirds mildly amusing cliché and one-third mildly successful sharpening or avoidance of cliché.

My regret at having somewhat overrated "Cover Girl" is more than counterbalanced by even a glancing remembrance of other current musicals. If I really sat down to think of them, I'm afraid I'd rate it even higher. I serve warning, in no special order of disgrace, against seeing the following—mentioning any good thing I can, about each: "Follow the Boys" shows you the sort of entertainment American soldiers and sailors are subjected to at home and abroad, and shows you also how very proud Hollywood is of its role in the war. Purple Hearts should be handed out after every projection. "Broadway Rhythm" contains perhaps three minutes of good acrobatic dancing and lasts nearly two hours. In "Show Business" there are a few bits of archaic vaudeville which give off a moderately pleasant smell of peanuts and cigar smoke. During the making of "Pin-Up Girl" Betty Grable was in the early stage of pregnancy; everyone else was evidently in a late stage of paresis. "Knickerbocker Holiday" uses the smirking mannerisms and attitudes of Gilbert and Sullivan as one might use Sanka dregs the fifth time. In "Seven Days Ashore" I thought Alan Carney pleasant and promising; Margaret Dumont very funny. I also liked glints of cynicism in the script and of flexibility in the camera work. But in the aggregate these good things cannot amount to better than 5 per cent of the picture. If music be the breakfast food of love, kindly do not disturb until lunch time.

JAMES AGEE

RECORDS

COLUMBIA'S April list was not much more rewarding than Victor's, with exactly one single disc (71509-D; $1) which offered music and performance of major stature. The music is "Der Doppelgänger," one of Schubert's greatest, most overwhelming songs, and "Die junge Nonne," in which he occasionally transmutes obviousness into wonderful details. The performances are by Lehmann and Ulanowsky, and are superb—though I am bothered by things like Lehmann's alteration of the rhythmic shape of the

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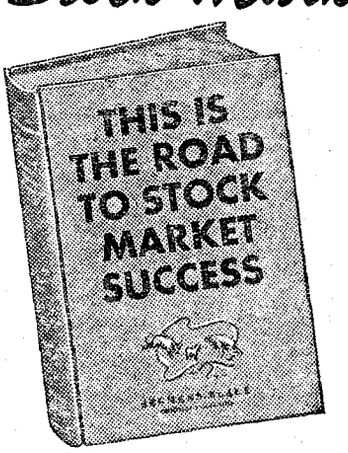

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last phrase of "Der Doppelgänger" and her change of a G natural to G sharp in "Die junge Nonne." Voice and piano are excellently reproduced.

The rest of the list, like Victor's, seems to indicate that the company is pretty near the bottom of the barrel of what it had in reserve when Petrillo put an end to recording; though it leads me to wonder why Columbia has not issued Beecham's last London Philharmonic recordings of Mozart symphonies and its own recording of Schubert's "Schöne Müllerin" sung by Lehmann. But, as with some Victor releases, I must wonder also at the original decision to expend equipment, labor, and materials on Dohnanyi's Quintet Opus 1 for piano and strings, a fluent recapitulation of Schumann, Mendelssohn, and Brahms, played by Kilenyi and the Roth Quartet (Set 546; $4.50). Kilenyi's playing is percussive and aggressive, often blanketing the sound of the strings. This may be due to poorly balanced recording; and recording also may be responsible for the dull sound of the piano, the brash sound of the strings.

On a single disc (11983-D; $1) is a performance of the Scherzo from Mendelssohn's "Midsummer Night's Dream" music by Stokowski with the All-American Orchestra, which almost explodes off the record with its ostentatious virtuosity, and which consequently is a poor performance of this exquisite piece. On the reverse side is a monstrous transcription for Stokowskian full orchestra of the great Prelude of Bach's E major Partita for unaccompanied violin. The recorded sound of the performances is not good.

And finally a set (X-240; $2.50) with four favorite waltzes—Strauss's "Blue Danube" and "Tales From the Vienna Woods," Sibelius's "Valse triste," and the Waltz of the Flowers from Tchaikowsky's "Nutcracker"—played by Barlow and the Columbia Broadcasting Symphony with plastic discontinuities and stylistic vulgarities that don't require detailed description.

To feature as its April record classic Columbia chose from its catalogue Beethoven's Ninth Symphony performed by Weingartner with orchestra (Vienna Philharmonic), chorus, and soloists of the Vienna Opera of ten or twelve years ago (Set 227; $8.50). Toscanini's great performance of the work is not available on records: the attempts to record it at a concert have produced results which he has considered unsatisfactory and has refused to release. There have been, therefore, only two recorded performances to choose from—Weingartner's and Stokowski's; and of these Weingartner's impressed me, when I heard it, as simple, direct, and powerful, but poorly recorded—but to be preferred nevertheless to Stokowski's well-recorded performance, which was not simple and direct. Re-hearing Weingartner's performance now, I was freshly aware of the straightforwardness of his statements of the first two movements, and of their power—though I was aware this time of the greater power that Toscanini had achieved at certain points; and I found the recorded sound of these two movements agreeable and clear—the only defect being an occasional faulty balance which, for example, obscured some of the woodwind counterpoint. It was in the third movement that I began to hear unpleasant recorded sound; and the fourth brought additional defects of balance which, for example, made the opening strident outburst sound miles away and the recitative of the string basses sound very near. This time, in addition, noting Weingartner's fast tempos and his lack of all rhetorical underlining—for example, in the *Andante maestoso* "Seid umschlungen" and *Adagio . . . divoto* "Ihr stürzt nieder" of the fourth movement—I found his statements of these two movements perfunctory; and certainly the ecstasy of parts of these movements is not to be achieved by perfunctory statement. I also noted the deficiencies of the soloists—the great Richard Mayr's rhythmic slovenliness in the bass recitatives, Maikl's unpleasant tenor, Anday's terrific contralto tremolo. Only Helletsgruber does well; and the chorus is superb. But with all its defects this version is to be preferred to Stokowski's.

Most of these April records had poor surfaces.

I keep getting enormous pleasure from Edwin Denby's dance criticism—the pleasure that comes from all that I begin to see when Mr. Denby makes it possible for me to look at things through his eyes. All of us are amused by Markova's performance in "Pas de quatre"; but through Mr. Denby we become aware of "her charmingly ironical exaggeration of what correct academic dancing looks like," and, in this, of "the suavity of her wrists and arms." Or we are excited by one of her movements ending in a motionless pose; then, through Mr. Denby, we realize "her secret of a lightning change from tension to relaxation"—her tensing "right after the spring upward . . . which makes her figure look so exact in the air." Or we look at Youskevitch's movement through space and know that it is more wonderful than anything of the kind done by anybody else; then, through Mr. Denby, we "see easily what the action is, how the trunk takes the main direction of the dance and how the limbs vary the force and the drive by calculated countermovements. The changing shape of the dancing body is vigorously defined. The weight of the body and the abundant strength of it are equally clear; and the two aspects blend gracefully in the architectural play of classic sequences. The distribution of energy is intelligent and complex. In his leaps, for instance, the noble arm positions, the tilt of the head sideways or forward, make you watch with interest a whole man who leaps; you don't watch, as with most dancers, only the lively legs of a man. And while most dancers leap for the sake of the bound upward only, Youskevitch (like Markova) leaps for the entire trajectory, and for a mysterious repose he keeps as he hangs in the air."

B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

RICHARD ALLAN is the pseudonym of a Washington newspaperman who has studied the State Department at close range.

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO was Foreign Minister of the last legally elected Spanish government. He served as Spain's ambassador to Mexico from 1931 to 1933.

P. E. CORBETT, professor of international law and jurisprudence at McGill University, is one of the contributors to "The International Law of the Future."

BASIL VLAVIANOS, editor of the *National Herald*, a Greek daily published in New York, has represented the Greek government at several scientific congresses.

PAUL ROSENFELD is a critic of art and literature.

STEFAN T. POSSONY, military expert and author of "Tomorrow's War," is associated with the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton.

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Letters to the Editors

The Cost of Living

Dear Sirs: Your editorial entitled Price Control Works, in *The Nation* of April 22, is in certain respects slightly on the unfactual side. I am not discussing your apparent disagreement with the C. I. O. on the stabilization issue. You have a perfect right to disagree with us, even if your disagreement proceeds from a grievous case of bad judgmen. My objection is to the use of unfactual material in stating your disagreement.

Your editorial states: "An analysis of the C. I. O. Cost-of-Living Report shows, however, that it includes such items as taxes, war-bond purchases, and black-market purchases—none of which properly belong in a cost-of-living index." This statement is in error. The C. I. O.-A. F. of L. Cost-of-Living Report, which shows a minimum rise of 43.5 per cent in war-time living costs since January, 1941, does not take into account in its figures any of the items which you report that it does.

On black markets the report states: "Neither the BLS Index nor this report takes into account rising living costs resulting from sales through black markets. The Special Committee of the American Statistical Association thinks that [black markets] should not be represented in an official index of living costs.' This ethical judgment, however, does not alter the fact that black markets do increase the actual living costs of workers, as sporadic Department of Agriculture reports indicate. BLS states that its index does not include black-market prices as they are not available. This report does not reflect the contribution of black markets to higher living costs for much the same reason. If data were available to measure the extent to which black markets have raised workers' living costs, such data would be a chief weapon in wiping out such black markets. Therefore, the findings of this report suffer from a downward bias to the extent that they do not reflect black-market prices."

No one familiar with the exorbitant profits of food corporations, which are at the root of black markets, would argue that black markets are not a legitimate part of war-time living costs.

On taxes, the C. I. O.-A. F. of L. report states: "Neither the BLS Index nor this report reflects higher living costs resulting from increased direct taxes. A prevalent view, in which the BLS concurs, is that the effect of direct taxes should be accounted for at the other end of the stick from living costs, namely, income. Whether the effect of increased direct taxes is shown in the form of higher living costs or in the form of lower disposable income is academic. This report, therefore, avoids controversy on this matter and does not take into account increased direct taxes in measuring the war-time increase in workers' living costs."

On war bonds and other savings the C. I. O.-A. F. of L. report states: "As in the case of direct taxes, neither the BLS nor this report takes into account increased savings resulting from bond purchases and other forms of savings. That they affect disposable income and expenditures is obvious."

Your error in this connection arises from the fact that you relied upon the worthless cost-of-living report of the National Industrial Conference Board. We in the labor movement did expect that *The Nation* would at least consult labor's material before rushing into print with fallacious propaganda emanating from business sources.

HAROLD J. RUTTENBERG,
Research Director,
United Steelworkers of America
Washington, D. C., April 23

[Mr. Ruttenberg is largely right in his specific criticism of the National Industrial Conference Board's analysis referred to in our editorial. The board either erred or was misquoted in the press in the statement that taxes and war-bond purchases were factors in the C. I. O.-A. F. of L. cost-of-living estimate. It is difficult to account for this error in view of the fact that the Conference Board, regardless of its associations with big business, is normally accurate and responsible in factual statements.

The board is right and Mr. Ruttenberg is wrong with respect to black markets. The text of the technical portions of the report states clearly that the estimates of increased costs for food assume violations of the price ceilings, that is, that the housewife will buy part of her food at black-market prices. Undoubtedly such violations occur, and it cannot be denied that they affect actual living costs. But the Bureau of Labor Statistics is on sound ground when it points out that no housewife is compelled to buy at prices above ceiling, and patriotic citizens have an obligation not to. Furthermore, a rather substantial part of the increase in living costs indicated in the Thomas-Meany report results from changes in buying habits—such as the greater tendency to eat in restaurants rather than at home. It is a debatable question whether *such* changes should be ascribed to higher living costs or a higher standard of living.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Our Tactics, Not Our G. I.'s

Dear Sir: While our two campaigns in Italy continue to lag, the American High Command there seems to have launched all-out upon a third, a disciplinary campaign to enforce saluting, maintain punctilious correctness in the wearing of the uniform, and other such stringencies. M. P.'s are reported shamefacedly accosting disarrayed soldiers almost within gunfire of the front lines. And one corporal who had just captured fifteen Nazis single-handed *found* himself jailed for not wearing his helmet, even though he was in a protected area at the time. Public reaction to this campaign is not favorable. Perhaps the army resents the implication that better-dressed, more smartly saluting soldiers might have had that extra "something" which would carry them through to victory. For reports of military analysts seem to agree that it was our tactics, not our G. I's, that lacked that extra "something."

German military sources have stated that at the time of our original landing in southern Italy rapid exploitation of the situation would have meant almost certain capture of all Italy with the possible exception of the northern provinces. And a Russian admiral who acted as an observer at the Anzio-Nettuno landings expressed surprise at the hesitancy of our unit commanders after reaching the beaches. The actions of our High Command in Italy in this case remind us, we regret to say, of the man who, every time he was unfaithful, found fault with his wife's cooking. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the public would much rather have its boys enter Rome unshaven than hear that they are wowing 'em in Naples.

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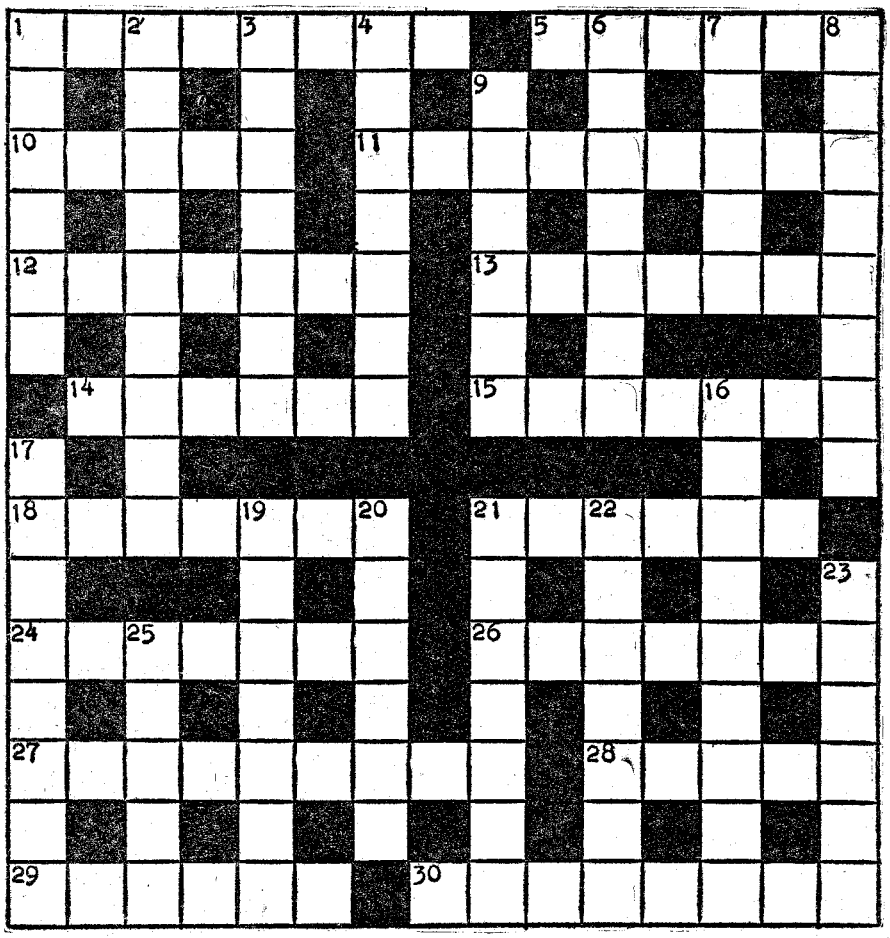
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 63

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 If you want to hit a woman's heart, take aim thus, said Douglas Jerrold (but that was 100 years ago!)
5 Some trouble or other, mostly other
10 Islets not eyelets
11 So we hover (anag.)
12 It contains iron and iron is contained in it (two words, 4 and 3)
13 Unwell in a Paris hotel
14 Pertaining to a town in Asia Minor, not on the French Riviera
15 The fellow grows old, but runs a business
18 "Cane, sir?" (anag.)
21 It makes room for the typist
24 American deer with only one rib, apparently
26 Coleridge related the adventures of the ancient one
27 "The earth was made so various, that the mind of --------- man, studious of change and pleased with novelty, might be indulged" (Cowper)
28 Sounds likely to be of help to a beekeeper
29 I'd give my ears to help make war weapons
30 Pope wrote of the pains and penalties of this

DOWN

1 Prevent from escaping; or what it's the innkeeper's business to do, perhaps (two words, 4 and 2)
2 Extravagant claims should not be made for this science
3 Elm is so flexible
4 Non-existent, yet might be here now
6 Educated cowboy? A Rhodes Scholar, perhaps
7 A humble dwelling, but there may be love in it
8 Uncommon quality of an underdone steak?
9 N.C.O. in a French name for short
16 A sweet plum, though it doesn't seem to be ripe!
17 Waterfalls
19 Real bun (anag.)
20 Quite alone till Friday
21 Some day (anag.)
22 Is a bear at the flying field (two words, 3 and 4)
23 Associated with furbelows in the feminine mind
25 I appear to make Rose diminutive

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 62

ACROSS:—1 AMBULANCE; 6 WOMEN; 9 PREFECT; 10 PASTEUR; 11 CLIMATE; 12 RIMFIRE; 13 ROE; 15 GREEDY; 17 ENIGMA; 18 OPINE; 19 ORISON; 22 LOFTED; 25 UNA; 27 VILLAIN; 28 CRANIUM; 30 NEEDLE'S; 31 EVIDENT; 32 ROSES; 33 DETONATOR.

DOWN:—1 ASPIC; 2 BEEHIVE; 3 LEEWARD; 4 NETHER; 5 EMPIRE; 6 WISE MAN; 7 MEETING; 8 NURSEMAID; 14 ONION; 15 GROSVENOR; 16 YON; 17 EEL; 20 ILLNESS; 21 ORACLES; 23 OVATION; 24 TRIDENT; 25 UNUSED; 26 ACCENT; 29 MATER.

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